LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

Editor: R. Palme Dutt

George Bernard Shaw

R.P.D.

Yankee Yes-Men

W. GALLACHER

Sheffield and Warsaw

D. N. PRITT, K.C.

December 1950

Price: One Shilling

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRACTICAL PROPOSALS

Two months ago I wrote that, judging from our rising circulation figures, there was a changing mood in the Labour Movement. Every day I watch that column of figures eagerly, knowing that behind it is a column of people. Here are the stories of two, a Co-operator and a Labour Party Chairman. I met the first in October. Replying to his letter about *Light on Korea,* I mentioned what was going to appear in our November number. Two weeks later he wrote thanking me for the letter 'that you were kind enough to write me about Mr. D. N. Pritt's article in your November issue, which I have ordered. I should like you to know that since receiving your letter I have mentioned it to several Socialist and Communist friends, who have been with me at meetings of our Co-operative Men's Guild'. He describes how two of them decided to distribute some copies, adding: 'I hope you will approve of our suggestion, and if so, will you please send us twelve copies?'. That's Co-operation, that is.

Second story: a letter from a Labour Party Chairman in an Eastern County, runs: 'Since I last wrote I have got six more *Labour Monthly* readers. I have now made all plans for a monthly discussion group on Palme Dutt's Notes of the Month. I shall have to limit the first meeting to 30, as it is to be held in our front room and we like to give a cake and cup of tea to each. (6d. a time and it will be a matter of vote as to what we do with the profit.) We shall have Communists, a few Liberals, two broad-minded Tories, and of course a lot of Labour, so you will see we are going to have some fun. We have the people, some money to launch it, we know we are in for a good time with a great paper to talk about. I'll let you know how we go. My hope is to get every Labour man here a L.M. reader; it's his whole armour and his ammo. If we get going well, couldn't the idea be expanded in other towns? Years ago we built up the Left Book Club (when it was Left) by discussion groups. If we build up thousands reading L.M., this little stream of readers will soon be a raging torrent. You have truth on your side; we know it and feel it'. I have picked out these because they are ordinary letters from ordinary people, just typical of the best people in Britain; sturdy working class folk who think for themselves. These, having thought for themselves, decided *to act on it.*

Supposing only 10,000 of our readers in Britain were to decide after reading these letters that perhaps each could do something to add to our circulation? I picture them looking round, among fellow trade unionists, members of the Labour Party, Communist Party, Co-op. Guilds, their workmates, colleagues, friends, neighbours, asking themselves: 'Which of these decent folk needs and deserves *Labour Monthly*?' Sometimes, especially when money is short, it may be a matter of passing their own copy on, as a Scottish friend writes: 'I am taking care that my copy does not stop with me, but goes on its rounds, doing good work'. Then, now is the time of year when, even if you can't afford it, you are going to spend something on greetings cards, presents, all sorts of knick-knacks. Why not give some-

Continued on inside back cover.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vol. XXXII. No. 12 CONTENTS December, 1950

Page

EDITORIAL ARTICLE: George Bernard Shaw, by R.P.D. 529

YANKEE YES-MEN: by William Gallacher 541

PEACE DOVE: by Pablo Picasso 552

SHEFFIELD AND WARSAW: by D. N. Pritt, K.C. 554

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO 557

UNPUBLISHED LETTER BY DR. SUN YAT-SEN 558

WHICH WAY FOR GERMANY?: by George Matthews 561

Book Reviews:

Germany, What Now?, by Basil Davidson: *G. Schaffer* 568

Meaning and Purpose, by Kenneth Walker: *C.A.* 570

INDEX 571

Editorial Article

George Bernard Shaw

When you carry your experiment to its final triumph, and I know that you will, we in the West, we who are still playing at Socialism, will have to follow your steps whether we like it or no.

George Bernard Shaw, Address to the Soviet people in 1931.*

THE *Labour Monthly* pays tribute to George Bernard Shaw, an old friend, subscriber and contributor of our journal from its earliest issues. It was in our fourth number, in October, 1921, that appeared Shaw's famous 7,000 word article on *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, which was written on the request and commission of our then very fledgling magazine newly arrived into the world of socialist periodicals, and which was Shaw's first major written declaration of

*Quoted in *Pravda* on his eightieth birthday, and reprinted in the *Daily Worker* on July 29, 1936.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

support (in his own highly individual fashion) for Communism against Reformism, not only in Russia, but in Britain. His last contribution appeared in our pages twenty-eight years later, in 1949.

With his characteristic generosity of outlook and sympathy Shaw always took a lively and helpful interest in the *Labour Monthly*, recognising the significance, in the existing publishing conditions in Britain, of the successful uninterrupted publication for over a quarter of a century of an outspoken socialist periodical on a self-supporting basis, despite deprivation from the advertisements which its circulation would warrant. On the occasion of our Twentieth Anniversary Shaw wrote:

> I forget the name of the Frenchman who, on being asked what part he had taken in the French Revolution, replied that he had survived it. The survival of the *Labour Monthly* for twenty years is a feat no less remarkable. The fact that its circulation runs into five figures, making it a lucrative vehicle of advertisement for books and other articles appealing to its special clientèle (if only advertisers could escape from their well-worn grooves), is part of the prodigy; for I have never seen the *Labour Monthly* exhibited for sale on a bookstall or otherwise pushed on the public. The five figures seem insignificant contrasted with a population figure of forty millions; but if you subtract from the forty millions the children, the aged, the adults old enough to be hopelessly set in their opinions, the people who get along with their fathers' politics and think what their Party newspaper tells them to think, the mental defectives who may be classed politically as idiots and could not understand a line of the *Labour Monthly* if the wind blew it into their hands, leaving only, say, five per cent. of the population between 16 and 30 years old (for on these alone can the *Labour Monthly* produce any considerable effect), and you will see the five figures in quite a different light, and understand why a propaganda that counts so few disciples can produce Renascences, Reformations and Revolutions.

In the same message, after detailing the Decline and Fall of the Labour Party from the early hopes placed in it to the subsequent surrender of its leadership to capitalism, he added with kindly exaggeration:

> When the Plan of Campaign for Labour thus killed the Socialist revival of the eighties, to which I belonged, the *Labour Monthly* stepped in and kept the red flag flying whilst the Labour Party was waving a tattered old Union Jack. That is why I congratulate it heartily on its twentieth birthday.

With respect and affection the *Labour Monthly* lowers its flag in honour of a pioneer and a veteran, who raised the red flag three-quarters of a century ago, travelled a long road between, with many by-paths, but throughout, according to his lights, held aloft the red

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

flag, and above all in his final years, when so many of his former colleagues ran away and joined the enemy, 'kept the red flag flying'.

* * * *

'If the world goes along the old path, I shall have to leave this world with sorrow'. Shaw spoke these words in the Soviet Union in 1931, when he greeted with joy the victory of socialism in Russia, foresaw its victory over the rest of the world, and proclaimed that 'the future lies with Lenin and Stalin'. The aged traveller, in his seventy-fifth year, still looked forward with eager impatience to the victory of the world socialist revolution, and felt keen 'sorrow' if he should not live to see it. The change that Shaw looked forward to in Britain and the Western world did not yet take place in the nineteen years of life that were left to him. Many cruel ordeals had still to be passed through, and have still to be passed through by the world. But changes enough have taken place in those nineteen years to show unerringly the path of the future, as one third of humanity has moved over to the leadership of Communism. Shaw did not need to die sorrowful. 'The future lies with Lenin and Stalin'.

* * * *

Shaw was an artist. He should not be judged primarily as a thinker, despite his prodigious mental energy and vigour. All the contradictions in the world can be found jostling one another in the ocean of his output. Greatness and pettiness of ideas rubbed shoulders, all illumined and immortalised in the alembic of a transcendent style and wit. He was a Marxist and an anti-Marxist, a revolutionary and a reformist, a Fabian and a despiser of Fabianism, a Communist and a crusader against super-tax. Only the dull would seek to construct an abstract intellectual system out of the myriad crossing strands and currents, of Ibsen and Marx, of Henry George and Jevons, of Nietzsche and Samuel Butler, of Lamarck and Bergson (but not of Freud—he never fell for that), of Plato and Thomas Aquinas, that weaved and interweaved and were transformed in the furnace of his thought and his imagination.

Therefore the theatre provided his best medium. His Plays will outlive his Prefaces. Through the creatures of his imagination he laid bare with unequalled power and human insight, with comic inspiration hovering on the tragic, all the contradictions of modern society, even where he could not provide the solution. His plays have been called plays 'only' of talk, of discussion, of debate. It

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is true that some of his plays, especially the later plays, correspond in considerable part to this description. It is true also that he was a superb debater and pamphleteer. But through all his most memorable plays, and above all through the plays of his greatest period before 1914 and *Heartbreak House*, it is his creative genius as an artist, his broad humanity which expressed itself equally in his life and in his every utterance, his human sympathy and imagination, and his concern with the fate of humanity, that gives to them their power. He loved human beings. Therefore he was a socialist.

Beneath all the superficial contradictions and vagaries of his theories and day-to-day politics, his integrity as an artist, an integrity based on his broad humanity and social feeling, never wavered and never weakened.

He hated capitalist society. He hated all shams, cant, humbug, hypocrisy, servility, pompousness, cruelty, self-glorification, everything that debased mankind. He delighted to tear down all the polite fictions that concealed the rotting scrofulous ulcers of class oppression, parasitism and degradation. He exposed capitalist society with a passionate intensity that has never been equalled by any writer of English.

> Modern English polite society, my native sphere, seems to me as corrupt as consciousness of culture and absence of honesty can make it. A canting, lie-loving, fact-hating, scribbling, chattering, wealth-hunting, pleasure-hunting, celebrity-hunting mob, that, having lost the fear of hell, and not replaced it by the love of justice, cares for nothing but the lion's share of the wealth wrung by threat of starvation from the hands of the classes that create it.

And in one agonising sentence in his *Revolutionist's Handbook* he reveals alike the intensity of his feeling and the weakness of his intellectual construction.

> The world will not bear thinking of to those who know what it is.

He loved socialism. He worked for socialism. He slaved for socialism. He devoted all his mighty powers to the tireless propagation of socialism. There was no drudgery too petty that he would not undertake to help the cause of socialism or to help socialists.

* * * *

There is another element which must be borne in mind to sift the gold from the husks and chaff of the prodigal exuberance of his utterance, from which the pigmies can draw at pleasure to prove a pettifogging case, blacken greatness or seek to diminish the stature of the man.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here a trifling personal record from thirty-one years ago may be forgiven, because it helped the present writer to illumine understanding and learn a certain tolerance.

It was in 1919, on the day when the Treaty of Versailles was published. Walking with Shaw, I asked him his opinion of it. He said: 'The Germans are prodigiously lucky; they are freed from the burden of armaments, and will forge ahead commercially, while we shall be ruined with an intolerable arms expenditure'. With all the impetuous crudity of youth I set out to teach my grandfather the elements of politics and declared: 'That may be witty, but it is not true', and argued that the Versailles Treaty placed heavy burdens upon the German nation, against which they would sooner or later revolt. Shaw looked at me compassionately, as at a neophyte, and said: 'That may be true, but it is not witty; and if you only speak the truth in England, however brilliantly, nobody will listen to you; you will be ignored'. He then proceeded to read me a long lecture of avuncular advice. He explained from his own experience that a young socialist writer must choose between two alternatives: either to write the truth to his own satisfaction in a few minute journals of infinitesimal circulation for a handful of an audience who would all violently disagree with you and abuse you for your pains; or to reach out to the millions by mixing up the truth with a fantastic amount of nonsense and conventional fictions, which would enable them to swallow the truth without knowing it. I remember that I obstinately answered back that there was in my opinion a third alternative: to tell the truth and also to reach the masses, that the Marxists in a certain number of countries had already solved this, and that, although it was more difficult in England, we should eventually solve it here also.

This episode has always remained in my memory, when confronted with some of the more absurd and exasperating of Shaw's occasional utterances which might at any moment erupt from him. Not all that bore the signature of Shaw reflected the true mettle of the man. Much that he wrote may be happily forgotten. It is necessary to separate the grain from the chaff, the pure gold from an inordinate amount of dross.

But this episode also threw a light on his weakness, no less than on his strength. His strength was that, armed with the dazzling rapier of his incomparable style and wit, he consciously set out to reach the many-millioned public through all the clogged channels of publicity of imperialist Britain, and used without stint

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

all the powers of his genius to awaken them from their slumbers ('I should always write on the assumption', he advised in the *Labour Monthly* of July, 1941, 'that the English are brain-lazy, fatheaded and politically ignorant in the lump'), and to inculcate a sane, civilised socialist outlook. He brilliantly accomplished this task, as much as any one man could accomplish it. He transformed the ideas of politics into the language of life. Challenging capitalism to single combat in a world of capitalist publicity, he reached the top levels of public showmanship, so that the very avenues of capitalist publicity became his highroad—except for his most serious utterances.

But he had also to pay a price. The truths in Shaw always come forth in a twisted shape. The Shakespearean King's Fool could say so much, but not more; and the agony in his heart remains finally unresolved. Fighting alone in splendid isolation, with no contact with the mass movement, and with no confidence in the masses, he could only be a lonely preacher, an iconoclast, a heretic—never a leader. The bitterness breaks out from him in an occasional outcry, as in the Preface to *Major Barbara*:

> I, who have preached and pamphleteered like any Encyclopædist, have to confess that my methods are no use.

This sense of impotence of idealist isolation became more and more underlined in later years, as the victory of the realists, of the Marxists, of the mass movement which he had denied and despised, was demonstrated with the Russian Revolution and with the whole course of world history. His heart leaped out to them in their victory; his mental construction had led him along a different path.

The evil went deeper than the sense of individualist helplessness before the ruling powers of Mammon, of the Undershafts and the Horseback Halls, even while he exposed without mercy their bankruptcy. It twisted his philosophy. Fighting in isolation, he had to make terms with his adversary, even while he fought him. The final conclusion is always missing in Shaw. The ruthless revolutionary diagnosis and analysis leads to no conclusion, because the only conclusion would be action, the action of the masses, and this Shaw had renounced from the outset as impossible. The soaring revolutionary analysis ends in a lame and impotent Fabian conclusion. The rocket of his thought shoots up into the sky to illuminate and dazzle the whole landscape and finally descends as a Fabian Blue Book or a Sub-Committee's Minority Report for Administrative Reform. The mental construction of the Fabian chokes and clouds the revolutionary insight of the artist. This is the conflict which

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alick West has brilliantly analysed, on the basis of the novels and plays, in his recently published study, *A Good Man Fallen Among Fabians.*

* * * *

Shaw derived his Socialism from Marx. He became a Socialist by reading Marx's *Capital*. He wrote:

> Marx opened my eyes to the facts of history and civilisation, gave me an entirely fresh conception of the universe, provided me with a purpose and a mission in life.

And again in 1943:

> There are now only two orders of statesmen: the pre-Marx fossils and the post-Marx live wires. (*Daily Herald*, March 10, 1943.)

He loved to proclaim himself a Marxist and a Communist, even while he freely mocked at Marxists and Communists, and displayed a most monumental innocence of what Marx wrote.

But it was the artist in Shaw which responded to the artist in Marx, to the mighty power and passion of the Titan and the Prometheus, to the immortal style of Marx, the encyclopædic knowledge, the sweeping vision which illumined the whole panorama of history and human existence. Shaw wrote to Hyndman in 1900:

> I find Marx as old as Amos—*Das Kapital* a wrathful Old Testament (with New Blue Books) and nothing else.

The science of Marx was a closed book to Shaw. Shaw knew no science of history, of classes, of economics, of the strategy and tactics of class warfare; he knew only heroes and the helpless ignorant duped masses; patient all-wise Cæsars and many-headed fools; prophets and scoundrels; rulers and rebels; artists and philistines; Fabians and romantic impossibilists; heaven and hell. Even the Russian Revolution was only comprehensible to him in terms of Lenin. The triumph of Socialism in Russia meant for him Stalin.

Without the firm foundation of materialist dialectics there can be no theory, but only ethical passion, empirical discovery and the scintillating play of ideas. Without the firm foundation of materialist economics, there can be no social theory and no navigation in the shoals and currents of the modern world.

Shaw boggled at the first schoolboy's elementary conundrum over the theory of value, gave up the attempt to think a little further and master the key which unlocked the secrets of the laws of locomotion of capitalist society, and preferred to settle down with the tenth rate platitudinous commonplaces of a Jevons or a Marshall, without realising that he had thereby theoretically capitulated

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the capitalism which his emotions detested. He looked at the visible picture of the working class movement in late nineteenth century England, and wrote off the working class as incapable of playing any rôle. He looked at the little socialist sects and wrote off the conception of a socialist revolution as a romantic illusion. He retired into the dismal company of educated English ladies and gentlemen, horrified and repelled equally by what he saw there, but unable to conceive any alternative. In the intervals of dreary Fabian pettifogging, which he mistook for political activity, he sought relief from its horrors in mystical stimulants, which left him at the mercy of every vitalist charlatan and god-building religious mania, until he died in the arms (metaphorically speaking, let us hasten to add) of Lady Astor babbling to him of Mrs. Eddy.

* * * *

But his heart remained true to the dreams of the socialist revolution, which his head rejected. If he abandoned the conception of the socialist revolution as an illusion, until 1917 began to open his eyes, he abandoned it, not with the self-satisfaction of the renegade, but with the tears of one disinherited. Again and again his revolutionary desire beat against the stifling limitations of his narrow empirical Fabian theoretical equipment.

In the very first Fabian Manifesto which he wrote in 1884 (the famous Tract No. 2, which was withdrawn) he concluded:

> That we had rather face a Civil War than such another century of suffering as the present one has been.

In 1904 he wrote to protest against the notion 'that there are two courses open to us: Parliamentary action and physical force, each of which excludes the other', and continued:

> This is not so. Parliamentary action is usually the first stage of civil war.
>
> It is of course possible that capitalism will go under without a fight but I should regard any statesman who calculated on that as an extremely sanguine man.
>
> The mistake made by our wildcat barricaders is not in believing that the revolution will be effected by force, but in putting the fighting at the wrong end of the process. (*Clarion*, October, 1904.)

'The bitter tragedy of Shaw's life', commented T. A. Jackson recently in quoting this passage, 'is that these wise words (which could be matched over and over again by equivalent citations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin) were nullified by his verbalisings against Marx and Marxism, which helped to exalt these 'extremely

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sanguine men' into the official leadership of Labour-Socialism in Britain'.

In 1914, after the outbreak of the first world war, Shaw wrote:

> No doubt the heroic remedy . . . is that both armies should shoot their officers and go home to gather in their harvests in the villages and make revolutions in the towns.

For a momentary flash of insight the Leninist slogan of 'Transform the imperialist war into civil war' sprang to life independently in the imagination of Shaw. But it remained a fantasy, a 'heroic remedy' to be mentioned in a literary exercise and abandoned, not a political directive. It was beyond the bounds of his horizon that it could ever be fulfilled in practice, still less that a revolutionary mass party of a new type, unknown to Clements' Inn and Tothill Street, was already working patiently, consistently and with final success to fulfil it.

Prior to 1917 he still remained helplessly bound in the shackles of the impotent conclusion of his unfortunately named *Revolutionist's Handbook*:

> Are we then to repudiate Fabian methods, and return to those of the barricader, or adopt those of the dynamitard and the assassin? On the contrary, we are to recognise that both are fundamentally futile.

The Russian Revolution saved Shaw and finally resolved his contradiction. From the outset Shaw welcomed the Bolshevik Revolution. When others turned aside, and even a Kautsky, for all his previous pompous pedantry of Marxism, turned to denunciation, Shaw, the old Fabian, testified to the sterling truth that was in him, and declared with magnificent simplicity:

> We are Socialists. The Russian side is our side.

He loved to boast that

> the two old hyperfabian Fabians, Webb and Shaw, have stuck to their guns like Fox (in his support of the French Revolution), whilst the sentimental Socialists have been bolting in all directions from Stalin, screaming like St. Peter, 'I know not the man'.

Yes; the Old Fabian leaders, the Webbs and Shaw—in contrast to the pitiful younger progeny of Fabianism today—redeemed themselves in their last years by their open support of Bolshevism and the Russian Revolution after its triumph had been achieved.

Shaw, like the Webbs, was no theorist. They reached to the Russian Revolution, and to the final recognition of its democratic and socialist achievement, by the traditional English empirical road. They could not foresee theoretically the possibility of a serious Marxist revolutionary party (they still to the last pooh-poohed it in

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the countries where it had not yet won power) or of a successful socialist revolution; they had long ago dismissed such a conception as romantic fiddlesticks. But once the solid achievement was there, they had the courage and the honesty to recognise it publicly, and to build all their later thinking upon it, even though it upset all their previous conceptions. Therein lay their greatness.

Even as late as 1928, in his *Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*, Shaw was still retailing the conventional newspaper nonsense about the failure of socialism in Russia and the return to capitalism.

But in 1931 Shaw went to the Soviet Union and met Stalin ('I never met a man who could talk so well'). Thereafter the change came. Shaw may have been no theorist to understand Bolshevik theory, but he was a sensitive, perceptive, imaginative, sharp-witted artist to respond to human reality. He was an honourable socialist to respond to socialism. He was an honest man with the quality of greatness. The visit to the Soviet Union in 1931 was the turning point (and it was after that visit that Shaw guided also the Webbs, fresh from the bitter disillusionment of the Second Labour Government, to turn to the Socialist Union for the solution). He came. He saw. Bolshevism conquered.

Shaw stuck his colours to the mast. He stood by the Soviet Union. He never wavered. Even in the critical testing time of 1939-40, when all the rats ran to cover, Shaw stood by Stalin and the Soviet Union. For that he was never forgiven.

In vain all the sycophants of the existing order seek to conceal, pass over in silence, deny or distort the deep significance of the conversion of Shaw and the Webbs to Soviet Communism in their final phase, and to treat it as a regrettable vagary of ageing years. They seek to vilify Shaw's support of Soviet Communism as a worship of dictatorship, and to spread the legend that he was equally enthusiastic for Fascism as for Communism. This is false. It was not Shaw, but the Leader of the Labour Party, Lansbury, who made the pilgrimage to Hitler. Shaw may have let loose plenty of squibs in gay exuberance. But he understood very well that Fascism was merely a variant form of the Monopoly Capitalism which rules in Britain or the United States, and equally bankrupt. He wrote in 1937 (in the American *Story* magazine for October, 1937):

> We have only to compare the development of Russia since the slump of 1929 with the utmost that fascism has been able to accomplish in double that period to see that fascism is subject to all the limitations and

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vices of capitalism, and can no more save civilisation than it could save all the earlier civilisations it has wrecked.

And again:

> There is no remedy in fascism, but there is in Communism, and Communism is precisely what fascism teaches to abhor.

Shaw's support of the Soviet Union and Communism in his final years was based on full economic, political, moral and intellectual conviction. He wrote in December, 1937:

> Russia is an example to all the world of the enormous superiority of Socialism to capitalism, economically, socially and politically.

He welcomed in the Soviet Union the triumph of real freedom on the indispensable basis of Socialism:

> The Russian statesmen have discovered that in a really free country—that is to say, a country which belongs to its people, and in which any group of public-spirited and able men can organise any public service they like without running to Parliament for Private Bills or paying monstrous sums to landlords and lawyers—the response to this freedom is so far greater than could have been conceived without practical demonstration that Russia has been able to effect social transformations in ten years that under our system would take a hundred.
>
> (*Stalin-Wells Talk*, 'New Statesman and Nation', December, 1934.)

And Stalin he described sixteen years ago as

> a statesman of unique experience compared to whom the rulers of the Western Powers, hanging on to an automatic and evil system with an equipment of empty phrases, fictitious histories and obsolete routines, seem like rows of rickety figures in a worn-out waxworks.

He recognised without hesitation, after his visit to the Soviet Union, the failure and bankruptcy of the ideas and methods of Fabianism and Labour Party Reformism in England ('Fabian Socialism has been an ignominious flop in England', *Daily Herald*, March 10, 1943)—even though he mischievously tried to claim in recompense that his 'Fabian' ideas had triumphed in Russia.

> The supposed conversion of Britain to constitutional Socialism by the Fabian Society made even less change than the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity by Constantine.
>
> (*Everybody's Political What's What, 1944*, p. 262.)

He recognised that William Morris, the revolutionary Marxist, had been proved right by the event against Fabianism and the Labour Party Reformists:

> The truth is that though Morris died long before the foundation of the Labour Party, and its acceptance as the official Opposition and finally as the Government under a Socialist Prime Minister, had brought the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fabian policy to the test of experience and smashed it, Morris knew by instinct that the Westminster Parliament would sterilise the socialists, corrupt or seduce them, and change them from intransigent revolutionists into intriguers for Cabinet rank as Yesmen and bunk merchants in the service of the governing class, claiming all the time to represent the interests of the proletariat.

(Reply to Hesketh Pearson on the relations of William Morris and Fabianism, in Hesketh Pearson's *Bernard Shaw*, 1942, p. 96.)

He castigated without mercy the Labour Party reformist and imperialist leadership, and the successive Labour Governments, until by the time of the present disastrous Attlee Labour Government he was even writing in the *Daily Herald* of May 13, 1948:

Our Labour Front Bench oratory is reaching a point at which it will be impossible for any Socialist who knows what he or she is talking about to endorse it, or even to remain in the Labour Party.

In the same article he uttered a sentiment of timely significance for the Sheffield Peace Congress:

The Church of England has just betrayed Christianity by giving the atomic bomb its blessing.

* * * *

Yes, Shaw remained a fighter to the end. In moments of crisis, at the outbreak of war in 1914, and again in 1939, he had the courage to take an unpopular stand. For this he earned the hatred of the authorities, which they tried vainly to conceal in the later years behind their efforts to canonise him.

We salute in Shaw a great humanist and a great artist, a true fighter in the liberation struggle of humanity, a pioneer of socialist and communist ideas, the man whom Maxim Gorki acclaimed as 'one of the most courageous thinkers in Europe'.

November 11, 1950. R.P.D.

A MEMORIAL TO SHAW

This Memoir of Bernard Shaw by R. Palme Dutt is being separately published, together with the first article Shaw wrote for LABOUR MONTHLY *(October, 1921), his controversial* DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. *Price 1s. Out before Christmas.*

ORDER NOW

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YANKEE YES - MEN

WILLIAM GALLACHER

OLD and worn out through persecution, Galileo lay dying. He had been forced to recant all he had discovered and said regarding the motion of the earth. But even on his death bed his spirit reasserted itself and with almost his latest breath he muttered, 'But it does move'. There's a lesson there for all those, here and in America, who are so anxious to outlaw and ban the Communists. They stopped Galileo from talking, they burned Giordano Bruno at the stake but—did they stop the earth moving? I have an idea that they failed in that, but Churchill, spokesman for the moguls of Wall Street, and Deakin, spokesman for the lackeys of these moguls in the American Federation of Labour, with Isaacs of the Penny Dreadful mentality, are going to have a try at it. For they might as well try to stop the movement of the earth as try to stop, as they are trying, the historical process of development. Stop! Politically we have arrived at finality. There's no more to learn. Spontaneous action, so fruitful in the past, must now be made a crime. Our social system is incomparably better than any other. So good in fact that any talk of changing it can only be the evil design of desperate men who seek to overthrow and destroy the State, so that they may have the people of the country at their mercy.

But let them curse as they may and will, the historical process goes on, and not all the corruption of Yankee dollars will avail to stop it. 'It moves' and it will keep on moving. But what a pitiful set of marionettes are these labour leaders. Churchill, yes, he can be understood. With a long family tradition of privilege and power, with all his hopes and desires bound up with his own class system, half American and half British. When he sees the decline of British capitalism and the rise and the might of the British working-class he naturally turns to America, the last stronghold of capitalism, and gladly hands over to the keeping of the Yankee millionaires the future and the destiny of Britain and its people. If he can't stop the earth moving, maybe the Americans can. Haven't they got the atom bomb? 'Thank God!' he exclaims, 'for America and the atom bomb'. I don't think the Deity would accept responsibility for either. But as I say, Churchill can be understood. All for which he stands is at stake. His class is going and doesn't want to go and he above all others doesn't want it to go. It's these damned Commun-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ists. Stop them and you stop the historical process—that's the measure of their thinking—and these thoughts come pouring across the Atlantic, with every Yankee Commissar who lands in this country.

But what are we to say of the labour leaders and of many members of the Labour Party? Do they really think that the historical process has stopped? That their false 'Welfare State' with 'full employment' based on a burden of armaments that the country can't bear has put an end to the desire, or the need for social change? No, they know better, but they lack the courage to face the consequences of their knowledge. They live only for the present. They have no future and they have no interest in the future. They believe they can keep things going as they are for their life-time and that's all that matters. One very prominent trade union leader has been quite cynical about it. 'The old system will keep going as long as I live and I'm going to take all I can out of it'. But even in that, the last excuse of a man who has touched the lowest depths of moral degradation, he is wrong. It won't last him out unless he decides to pass off very soon. For the system is rushing to destruction at a very rapid rate, that's why there are such general and increasing attacks against the Communists. These attacks don't represent strength. When the Capitalist system was strong and flourishing, parties or groups could discuss or propagate the most violent methods of achieving their ends and nobody bothered very much about it. I remember very well when 'insurrection on the streets' was the favourite propaganda message of a particular group. I can even remember the S.D.F. (Social Democratic Federation) when Bevin and I were members having the slogan 'We believe in any method from the Ballot to the Bomb'. Bevin still believes in the bomb, not against, but for the defence of the capitalist class.

Forty years may be a long period in the life of a man but it is short in the life of a system. Yet in the past forty years we have seen capitalism in this country degenerate from strong robust manhood, to decrepit old age, holding out a palsied hand for much needed relief to the younger and more vigorous member of the tribe across the Western ocean. Rapidly the process goes on and it will accelerate. By the end of the present armaments programme the crisis will be upon us. Bankruptcy or war, and war can only intensify the bankruptcy. Three years during which the workers must prepare for taking the country out of the ruin, to which it is steadily being driven. The labour leaders see where they are going but their only thought is, stave it off—hold it back—damnation to those

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Communists, if only they were out of the way, we might somehow or another continue to hold the workers in check and keep the system from tottering to its fall.

Yet most of these men in their early days, not only read but drew lessons from history in order to arouse the workers and break them from their allegiance to Toryism and Liberalism. They know of the hard and bitter struggle that was waged for the Franchise. Now they talk as though freedom and democracy had descended from heaven and settled on this country in preference to all others. They choose now to forget that every vestige of freedom or of democratic rights had to be fought for against the most violent and brutal opposition of our rulers. They never gave way willingly and always they await the chance to take back what they were forced to yield. In the latter part of the 18th century the campaign for the Franchise had aroused tremendous feeling in every industrial area of the country. At that time only those who owned land had a vote. If a rich landowner held most of the land in a particular borough or county, he could select and send to parliament whomever he pleased. There were many of these 'Rotten Burghs' as they were called, while in an area covering Glasgow, Rutherglen, Govan and Renfrew, there was one solitary representative. The Franchise Association was exceptionally strong in the West of Scotland. The leaders were in close fraternal association with the leaders of the French Revolution. They were attacked in much the same way as the Communists are today. They were agents of a foreign power, they were conspiring to sabotage and destroy the state. The press was used to the utmost against them and lies and slanders were poured out in every issue. The ruling class, like the ruling class today, became panicky. The movement for Reform of the Franchise had to be stopped. Thomas Muir of Hunterhill, Glasgow, and several of his colleagues, leaders of the movement, were arrested. They were tried before Lord Braxfield, a vicious enemy of Reform, and they were prosecuted by the Lord Advocate Dundas. In the course of his charge Dundas declared ' the Constitution of this country is perfect and couldn't be bettered in the course of time '. Just think of that. Perfect, the Welfare State!. Muir and his colleagues were sentenced to 14 years in the Penal Colony at Botany Bay. They were silenced. The ruling class could now lie back and take things easy, the dreaded spectre of change had vanished with the deportation of its chief protagonists. But had it? Vain hope. Despite their command that the earth should stand still, despite the mad ravings of Braxfield which made the trial a mockery of justice, the earth kept moving and the historical process

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

continued to operate. By 1832 the first Reform of the Franchise was achieved. Had Muir then still been alive he might have muttered with Galileo, ' But it does move '.

And the Chartists! How often have labour leaders in the earlier years, held up before the eyes of the workers the heroic struggle of the Chartists during the 1840's? Of the brutality with which they were attacked, of how in many places they marched, arms in hand, inspired with the hope of securing the means that would enable them to achieve their emancipation. Again as with the Reform, the ruling class were in a panic. Oh these evil men who sought to change a perfect Constitution. Curses from the platform, curses in all too many cases from the pulpit, though there were honourable exceptions, and curses from the venal press. Nothing was too vile, nothing too outrageous, to be used against the Chartists. The leaders were gaoled, the organisation was partly crushed and partly side-tracked by the liberals, but the movement went on, different groups and organisations arising in the subsequent years, carried on the fight until with the winning of universal Franchise and the payment of members of Parliament, the main items of the Charter were realised. But the Chartists always looked on the Charter as a means to an end, not an end in itself. It was to be the weapon in their hand for overthrowing the bourgeoisie and for getting power into the hands of the people. Even today a reading of the *Northern Star* would put to shame the senile mouthings of most of the labour leaders. Already in the 1840's there were Chartist leaders who saw that the one sure way for the people of this and all other countries was the Socialist road. More and more as the years passed on this idea made its way amongst the active workers. That mighty combination Marx and Engels gave it a scientific foundation and provided it with a theory and practice that has been handled with such revolutionary genius by Lenin and his great disciple Joseph Stalin. Socialism in the early days was thorough in its definitions even while there were those who sought to lead the movement along the ' easy ' path of opportunism. Easy for those at the top, not so easy for those at the bottom. But there was no mistaking what Socialism meant. It meant finish for the aristocratic landowners, finish for the capitalistic exploiters, it meant that the people would own in common all the land of the country and all the means of production, distribution and exchange. Nobody questioned this definition. It was accepted by all. The only question that was at issue among us was how to bring it about. Some of us were for the Marxist method (that, we were told, was the hard and difficult way). Those who told us that

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were out and out opportunists (they had an easy way). But the bourgeoisie were not at that time much concerned with our differences, though later on they took a very great interest in these. They saw the Socialist movement as a menace to all they held dear, Rent, Interest and Profit, and they spared no vituperation in attacking us. I remember it all very well. Before Bevin, Attlee or most of the others were in the movement. What rascals we were. Scum, just scum. And the things we proposed to do. We were going to rob and loot. We were going to destroy the homes, tear down the church and banish Christ, as though capitalists and their ugly God Mammon hadn't banished him from the churches of this country long before. I was reading just the other day a debate that took place in the Manchester Free Trade Hall between the Tory Joynson-Hicks and the Socialist Victor Grayson on February 14, 1908, forty-two years ago. Here is what Joynson-Hicks, speaking for his class, had to say about Socialism and the Socialists:

> On its economic side Socialism is a gospel of destruction. On its family side Socialism is a gospel of degradation.
>
> I regard it as essentially a form of hatred of all those who have wealth in any degree, of hatred of the present forms of family life and of hatred of our God.

You see the things they're saying about the Communists aren't new. They've been said at all times by the ruling class of a particular period against those who threatened or seemed to threaten their privilege and power. I have often quoted Paul the Apostle, writing to the Corinthians, ' We are made as the filth of the world, and the off-scouring of all things unto this day '. He could now, if he were here, write that quite easily of the Communists. It isn't the name. No name holds loftier conceptions of the relations between men and women, social relations, than does Communism. It's what it stands for in relation to the privileged position of the bourgeoisie. Threaten their power and there's no depths to which they won't descend. Here is a quotation from Connolly's ' Reconquest of Ireland ' which has a bearing on this. It isn't Communism that is being abused, it is another ' ism '. Referring to an article in the *Irish Times* (Dublin) Connolly says:

> The last sentence in that Editorial is typical of the general attitude in Ireland toward the Labour movement. Observe that the *Irish Times* declares that ' Larkinism ' is a revolt against intolerable conditions. Remember that William Martin Murphy was moved to tell the Dublin employers that it was the sweated wages and bad conditions that produced ' Larkinism '. Remember too that no one can be found to deny that the general

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

effect of 'Larkinism' has been to raise wages and improve conditions . . . and then consider that all those who admit these things, have combined and are combining to down 'Larkinism', and to represent it generally as the incarnation of evil, and you have a picture of the turmoil caused in our distressful country by the spectacle of the worker organising and preparing to take back his own*.

Readers interested should read Sean O'Casey's book, *Inishfallen, Fare Thee Well,* to get a picture of Big Jim Larkin and what he meant to the Dublin workers in the years before the first World War. But there in Ireland in 1913, as here today, those who led the fight against the employers, the fight for working class emancipation, were faced with a barrage of lies and slander from every organ of capitalist publicity. Nay, for engineers it is worth noting in these days of the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Herald,* not to mention all the other mass circulated organs of the capitalist press, that in the Lock-out of 1852 (almost 100 years ago) which lasted from January until April and ended in a defeat for the Engineers, the main reason for the defeat was put by the leader of the Union as

> It was the hostility of the press—of *The Times* particularly—hostility evinced in misrepresentation, trickery, sophistry, treachery, insinuation and denunciation which in great measure decided the contest.

Yet engineers today, as other workers, all too readily gulp down the 'misrepresentation', 'trickeries' and 'treacheries' of the press and blindly follow Morrison and company along the road, not towards, but directly away from Socialism. For Mr. Morrison has given us what he calls 'a new definition'. Consider for a moment. In 1918, the Labour Party issued its programme in the course of which it said: 'We of the Labour Party will certainly lend no hand in capitalism's revival. On the contrary we shall do our utmost to see that it is buried with the millions whom it has done to death'. Brave words, my brother, brave words. But Lenin always advised the workers never to be taken in by words alone but to watch the actions of those who used them. So after these brave words of 32 years ago where are we today? According to Morrison's 'new definition', a definition that is the keynote of the policy statement presented at Margate, Socialism means 'the assertion of responsibility for matters of social concern'. Heard ye ever the like? 'Matters of social concern', says Morrison, are 'Post, Telegraphs, Water, Gas, Electricity,

*Connolly took part in the rising of Easter Week, 1916, and was taken prisoner and shot just as workers and their leaders are being shot in Malaya and Korea.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Coal, Transport and Steel '. Well, well. The tories and liberals have ' asserted social responsibility ' and nationalised or municipalised, Post, Telegraphs, Telephones, Water, Gas, Electricity, Trams—all matters of ' social concern '. So the tories and liberals are Socialist. Oh, but you say, the tories represent and advocate Private Enterprise. Don't let that trouble you, so do you if you are a loyal supporter of the petty-bourgeois leaders of the Labour Party. For Morrison's most important point attached to his 'new definition' is, 'We must encourage and assist Private Enterprise to modernise and expand its undertakings'. How do you like that? All tories are 'socialists' (the new variety) and all 'socialists' are tories.

But that isn't the worst trick played on the workers, far from it. Ask any member of the Labour Party, any trade unionist, any co-operator, if he would vote for and support in this country a government made up of Big Tory Bankers and Generals; if it's in the workshop, get out of the way in a hurry before he brains you with a spanner. Not a worker anywhere could be prevailed upon to support such a group. Yet the Labour Government has succeeded by ' sophistry ', ' trickery ', and ' treachery ' in getting the workers of the country to do just that. They give their sweat and their blood for the brutal, ruthless Bankers and Generals government of America. See how the trick was done. Marshall was made Secretary of State (Foreign Secretary) in order to carry through the enslavement of the people of Western Europe. Who is this Marshall? He was a hard-faced Brass-hat, an American General with a record about which there is nothing soft or generous. In such a character he could never have posed as the ' Saviour ' of Europe. So he metamorphosed. He cast off his military covering, dropped the General and appeared skilfully disguised as the mild-mannered, big-hearted Mister Marshall, with emphasis on the Mister. He was going to use dollars to prop up every capitalist country in Europe and to knock down, if he could, every country travelling the road to socialism. In the first he succeeded, with the help of the petty-bourgeois leaders of Social Democracy. In the second he failed and will continue to fail. But the help he gave made this country, France, Italy, Belgium and the other ' helped ' countries, helpless slaves of the dollar. Having completed his job, as far as he could carry it, he passed out of the picture, leaving Hoffman and Harriman to complete the job. Now he has metamorphosed again. The quiet garments of Mister Marshall are gone. Cast off for ever—he becomes Secretary of State for War, as General Marshall, hard, brutal, merciless in the service of American capitalism. Can any servile, belly-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crawling labour leader deny that? What a trick! Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, with the workers of this country the unsuspecting victims. As Mr. Marshall he gets the European countries lined up for war—war against the working class of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, war against colonial peoples struggling to be free, and having so lined them up, quite openly and blatantly returns to his former self, and takes up chief direction of the war machine.

An essential part in the gearing up of this machine is the suppression of revolutionary workers and of all progressive forces. Old machinery is set in motion, such as the use of the strike-breaking Order 1305; new machinery is prepared. There has been a big advance in this direction in America, and an increasing demand from there for similar action here. In America the Taft-Hartley Act deprives Communists of official positions in the Unions. This is followed by an effort on the part of the General Council of the T.U.C. to get Communists deprived of official positions here. The McCarran Bill is passed in America, virtually banning the Communist Party of America. Then up jumps Deakin howling for a ban on the Communist Party in Britain. The pattern is clear to all who have eyes to see, who aren't blinded by prejudice and false 'loyalty'. See how it works. Wall Street can rely on Churchill. When he proposed the European Army for whom was he speaking? Not for the people of this country. Acheson's insistence at his meeting with Bevin and Schuman on the formation of the European Army made it abundantly clear that he was speaking for the moguls of Wall Street. Truman and Acheson have Bevin and the Labour Government by the scruff of the neck. They can shake them into doing anything. Witness Attlee's admission that the new armament expenditure was at the command (or was it request?) of the Americans.

The American Federation of Labour, closely linked up with the Republicans and Democrats, the two wings of American capitalism's political machine, has a representative attached to the American Embassy. His job is to keep the British Trade Union movement in line. It must keep pace with the grafters in America. What allies for the British working class. Graft, corruption, everywhere. Just within the past few weeks, the Commissioner of the New York Police has had to resign. Police graft has reached colossal figures. The big crooked syndicates have been paying them millions of dollars for 'protection'. Right on the top of that Max Moss, President of the Board of Education, has accused contractors and school officials of graft amounting to many millions of dollars.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

When I was in Detroit four years ago the Mayor of that city was in gaol for graft amounting to a million dollars. A few years before that, Prendergast, the political gangster boss of Kansas, Missouri, the man who sponsored Truman and nominated him for the Senate as his ' Front ' man, was given a term of imprisonment with loss of citizen's rights for graft and fraud. He was safe while he confined his activities to Missouri, where he controlled police and judges. But he did a big corrupt deal with a Chicago syndicate that brought him under Federal Law and Roosevelt had his eye on him for a long time and he sent down a special Federal District Attorney to tie him by the heels. So, Truman's boss went to gaol and if Roosevelt hadn't died. . .

But graft isn't confined to American cities. Graft follows the dollar and the dollar has come to London. Here let me make a short digression. During the First World War I and my associates on the Clyde were accused of getting ' German gold '. Following the formation of the Communist Party I and my colleagues were accused of getting ' Moscow gold '. I ought to be a millionaire. But when the *Daily Worker* was banned in 1940, Lees Smith, who was acting leader of the Labour Party (Attlee was in the Coalition Government), went over to the House to get briefed for a speech supporting the ban. He submitted a number of questions to the Chief Secretary, Sir Alexander Maxwell, one of which was ' Does the *Daily Worker* or the Communist Party get financed from foreign sources?' To this the reply was given that after the most careful check no evidence could be found to substantiate such a charge, whereas all the evidence went to show that sufficient money was raised here at home to keep the paper and the Party going. I got a copy of the questions and the answers and challenged Morrison, who was then Home Secretary, and demanded that he make a statement regarding the Home Office investigations. There was a chance for him if there had been the slightest indications of evidence. Morrison sat silent. Shinwell took up the running and insisted that Morrison should answer a straight question, ' Was there any evidence of any sort whatever, that money was coming from outside this country?' But Morrison, despite his insistence, continued to emulate the sphinx. As Home Secretary he couldn't produce one iota of evidence.

Now I'll make a challenge to the leaders of the Labour Party and of the T.U.C. Let us get a Commission of Trade Unionists, officials and men from the bench and we'll allow them to make

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the fullest examination of the finances of the Communist Party, the *Daily Worker* and the personal finances of the Party leaders, if they will agree to a similar investigation of their finances. Rumours are rife regarding certain well-known figures. An investigation would be a wholesome thing for the movement. I make this challenge as Chairman of the Communist Party. I am sure the Secretary of our Party will gladly agree to it. Will the Secretary of the Labour Party accept it? Will the Secretary of the T.U.C.? We have nothing to fear—so, what do these others say? Now back to the Yanks.

Dickens in 'Martin Chuzzlewit' gives a terrible picture of the vicious, low moral character of American business men. Dollars, dollars, dollars. It doesn't matter how you get them—get them. Lie, fraud, swindle, nothing matters, so long as you get dollars. Some critics have at times suggested that Dickens exaggerated the aggressive vulgarity of leading Americans. He didn't. Just two items. Lloyd George in his memoirs, tells of a visit to this country of none other than Theodore Roosevelt, the swashbuckling 'storm-trooper' who introduced for the New York Police batons with knobs on them. However, when he came over here, a dinner was arranged with the Prime Minister, H. H. Asquith. This latter was in general quiet and reserved. He was also highly educated and what is usually termed as cultured. He was horrified when the Big Man from America started talking. He sat clammed up and it soon became evident that he was thoroughly disgusted with the vulgar boasting of the visitor. The dinner had to be brought to an abrupt end. It was a complete flop. That's one; the other—the bumptious Dewey, ignorant, incapable of understanding the ordinary decencies of life, got up at a dinner in New York to which members of the Soviet delegation to U.N.O. were invited and deliberately insulted them and when, quietly, they walked out, shouted after them like a drunken brawler in a bar-room.

That such men should be at the head of a great country is an affront to civilisation. That our petty-bourgeois labour leaders should do their bidding is an affront to our great movement—an affront to the living and the dead. As Dutt says in the October issue, the Social Democrats prepare the way for the Hitlers and their successors, the Trumans, Marshalls, and the rest of them. In 1925 it was MacDonald, Thomas and Snowden. They attacked and succeeded in isolating the Communists. Then the Baldwin Government as part of its preparation for dealing with the miners,

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

followed up with the arrest and imprisonment of twelve leading members of the Party. So it goes today. The labour leaders direct all their fire against the Communists. Not a word about the capitalists here or in America. When they have got the campaign advanced to a certain point, the Tories come in with an open demand for legislation against us. But we can laugh at them and at their threats. Our faith, our strength is sure founded. It is founded on the working class. Yes, Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden, Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevin, shut us up if you can, but you'll never stop the advance of the working class. Lied to, misled, confused, nevertheless they go on, all the time striving for a higher and better life. Soon they will see there is but one sure road to travel—the Marxian road that leads to Socialism. When that time comes, as come it will, the old order will go and the Red Dawn of a New Day will herald the realisation of all our dreams and aspirations.

Comrades, be of good courage. 'It does move'.

COLLET'S BOOKSHOPS

proudly announce an entirely new Soviet Edition of the book that has a place on every Socialist's bookshelf.

MAXIM GORKY'S

world-famous novel

MOTHER

A new translation by Margaret Wettlin.

Beautifully illustrated by G. Veselov.

716 pages. Price 7s. 6d. Cloth Binding.

From all progressive bookshops and branches of Collet's at *LONDON: 66 Charing Cross Road. HAMPSTEAD: 193 Haversock Hill. MANCHESTER: 36 Leansgate. HULL: 62 Carr Lane.*

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"THE PEACE DOVE

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

— PABLO PICASSO

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SHEFFIELD AND WARSAW

D. N. PRITT, K.C.

THE Government's behaviour over the Sheffield Peace Congress merits careful study. It began with the usual profession of devotion to ' our ancient traditions of freedom ', and a reminder that ' in this free country ' there was no power to ban the congress, which plainly implied that no *de facto* ban would be brought about by large-scale hindrances to the entrance of delegates. It went on to state that there would be no quantitative restrictions, and that individual delegates would be excluded only if they were *personæ non gratæ*. This attitude was, so to speak, underwritten by the consent given by the Ministry of Civil Aviation to eighteen charter flights from Prague to London (nine B.E.A. and nine Czech), which were arranged to bring some hundreds of delegates from Eastern Europe and further East.

In the end, the Government's behaviour was almost the exact antithesis of its professions and statements. It was heralded by a tirade from Attlee himself at a dinner of the Foreign Press Association. On this rather odd occasion, plainly selected merely because the date was convenient, he surpassed the average Public School Fifth Form in slovenly English, in inaccuracy, and in cheap bad temper. The main effect of his outburst was to give to the Congress a good supply of that mysterious quality of ' news value ', destroying all the carefully-laid plans for a Press boycott and pushing a number of divorces and crimes off the front pages.

The Government rejected delegates wholesale—priests, writers, playwrights, artists, scientists, medical women, wounded air-pilots, and a host of other people whom any decent person would be honoured to welcome on our soil. It even cancelled, without explanation, the consent to the aeroplane flights. It acted in such a way and on such a scale as to make it impossible to hold the Congress at Sheffield, and the venue had accordingly to be altered to the other side of Goebbels's Iron Curtain, where in conditions of freedom it went on to even greater successes than it would have achieved at Sheffield.

What is the political essence of all this? It is easy, of course, on the surface, to point out that this is how Tory-Social-Democrat politicians behave, that you can expect nothing better from frightened little men intoxicated with power, and that in any case they

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were largely under the control of other frightened little men further West, drunk with far greater power and insolently disregarding our traditions, our laws, and our reputation for common decency.

But that is no more than the surface. We must probe more deeply, and examine the episode as part of the whole development of 'our' foreign policy, the policy of 'our' Tory Party, 'our' Foreign Office, and 'our' Labour Government.

This policy is no longer just one of general anti-Soviet activity and propaganda; it now goes further and rules out even the idea of negotiation or discussion with the U.S.S.R. in the search for peace or good relations. The attitude can be stated thus:

> We say that the U.S.S.R. intends aggressive war in the relatively near future, and it is therefore useless to talk to it unless we are 'strong'.
>
> We are not strong at present, and so must set out to build up strength as fast as possible, and not even think of talking to the U.S.S.R. until we are strong enough.

One answer to this, of course, is that it is wholly wrong, both because the U.S.S.R. hasn't the faintest intention of starting a war, and because attempts to 'get strong' whilst the supposed enemy is also able to 'get strong' are always worse than futile; they constitute a form of lunacy known as 'armament-racism'; they are in fact contradictory of every principle of the United Nations Charter; and they have never led to 'strength' but practically always to economic misery and bankruptcy, the degeneration of civil liberties, and war.

One could answer further that it is criminally irresponsible to parrot the cry of 'Arm! Arm! Arm!' and 'Don't talk!', at a time when the supposed enemy, the U.S.S.R., is repeatedly proposing, both inside the United Nations Organisation and outside, that there should be discussions about peace, about reduction of armaments, about banning the atom bomb—in short about everything that could be done to relieve tension and make war less likely. And one could add that the responsibility is not lessened by the fact that our densely populated country, studded with atom-bomber bases but not equipped with atom-bombs, will in any case be virtually exterminated in any war into which we are thrown.

Perhaps the most significant point is the 'Thou shalt not even talk'. One would naturally expect, in a 'democracy', that we should argue out the questions whether the U.S.S.R. intends war, and whether it would do any harm to talk to it to see if we can't reach some *modus vivendi*. If it were really true that the £5,000,000 or so we are now asked to spend on military preparations every 24

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hours represented our only choice between survival and extinction, the British people are great enough to examine the facts, make up their minds to accept the position, and act accordingly. If, on the other hand, it is not true, but is just nonsense—and imported nonsense at that—then we should get into discussions with the U.S.S.R., reach some agreement, cut our arms expenditure to a tenth of its latest figure, and develop our future and our children's future in friendship, prosperity and tranquillity. There never was a position in which the price of not even talking was so awful, or the possible reward of successful talks so magnificent.

But it is just at this point that the Government's position seems to become not just wrong but almost childishly demented; for it goes one step further and insists that the citizens of this democracy must not even talk about talking to Moscow! To speak of negotiation is, it suggests, treasonable, because it 'weakens the public will' —the will I suppose to shoulder the burden of the armaments race, which in the end amounts to a will to war.

It is clearly this attitude which lay at the root of the Government's behaviour over the Sheffield Congress, which was far worse than just silly, or reactionary, or cowardly. The attitude is in effect that no one should talk about peace, because if they once do so they will be captured by its tremendous appeal and will insist on having it. At Sheffield, they were going to talk about it for a week, and the result would have been 'fatal', i.e., an immense encouragement to the peace movement. Hence the Government's action, and hence the stream of Press abuse, presenting talk of peace as an 'evil thing' designed to weaken us.

What a contrast Warsaw presented! There, in the alleged police state, 'dominated' by the war-mongers of Moscow, everyone may talk of peace; and delegates may enter the country if they want to talk peace from any angle. There are no Edes or Attlees or Shillitoes to check them over, and let them in only if they are likely to speak from the angle of the Washington-British policy. The result was the sort of free discussion that accords with British traditions but is unacceptable to British statesmannikins of today. Their attitude is a betrayal of every principle they go on mechanically professing. But it is also—and this is even more serious—a demonstration of the one cardinal sin of which no government claiming to be democratic should ever be guilty, the sin of not trusting the people. What the government is saying is: 'We know we are right, we admit no doubts; but we will not have the matter discussed, for, if that hap-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pened, the people might not agree. We must do on their behalf what they would not sanction if they were given the choice, for we neither trust them to understand nor trust ourselves to be able to convince them. We will serve their true interests by withholding the facts from them, and lying to them as well '.

One may make allowance for the fact that the armaments race, the refusal to negotiate with the U.S.S.R., the attempt to stifle any public talk of negotiation or of peace, are all the work of Washington. But the Government is still the Government of our country, and the policy is that Government's policy, for which we pay now in money, in lowered standards, in loss of civil liberty, in uncertainty and misery. We have not much more time to alter the policy or the Government; we must set about it at once.

FROM THE *LABOUR MONTHLY* OF 25 YEARS AGO

THEY SUPPORTED INDIAN STRIKERS

THE workers in the cotton mills of Bombay are again engaged in a fierce struggle with the federated owners of all the eighty-four cotton mills of that district. It will be remembered that a wage reduction of 20 per cent. was inflicted upon these workers after a lock-out of three months in 1924.

In July, after long consideration of the condition of the industry, the committee of the Mill-Owners' Association recommended a wage reduction of 11½ per cent. Twenty thousand workers struck (on September 15), and the number increased to 135,000 in a week, and later rose to 154,000, the total number in the industry in Bombay. It should be remembered that there is no union organisation, and these results have been brought about almost spontaneously, by workers who are mainly illiterate, and without resources of any kind. Their sufferings are naturally intense.

Officials of the All-India Trade Union Congress, representing the workers, put their case before the Governor of Bombay on August 12, but their demand that he should intervene, or set up a committee of inquiry, was met with the reply that there is no legal authority enabling him to do this.

The European trade unions are in this case, almost for the first time, showing their appreciation of the importance of the struggles of the colonial workers. The All-Russian Textile Union sent financial assistance, and was followed by the British Trades Union Congress, the Transport and General Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Weavers' Association, and the Amalgamated Society of Dyers. The Textile Workers' International and the Workers' International Relief have also subscribed, and the International Federation of Trade Unions has appealed to its national centres for funds.

From *The World of Labour*, December, 1925.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UNPUBLISHED LETTER BY DR. SUN YAT-SEN

(Below we publish a letter from Dr. Sun Yat-sen of August 28, 1921, written to the then Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Chicherin. This is the first time it has appeared.

Sun Yat-sen's letter shows the deep desire of the Chinese people and the Government of the Chinese Republic to establish friendly relations with the Soviet Republic, and the profound passion to rid China of all remnants of Imperialism. The letter was published in 'Bolshevik', No. 19, Moscow, October, 1950, whence it is translated.—Ed., LABOUR MONTHLY.)

The Chinese Republic,
The President's Chancellery,
Canton, August 28, 1921.

Dear Chicherin,

I have received your letter from Moscow, dated October 31, 1920. It arrived on June 14, 1921. I have delayed answering because I wanted to see the messenger who received the letter from you, and he had to transmit it to me from Harbin. As the latter was unable, until now, to come to Canton to visit me, I have decided to reply to your fraternal greetings and proposal regarding the renewal of trade relations between Russia and China.

First of all I must inform you that this is the one and only letter which I have received from you or anyone in Soviet Russia. There have been some reports during the last two years in the Capitalist Press about formal proposals alleged to have been made to me from Moscow. No such proposals were sent to me, by letter or otherwise. In case any of your colleagues has previously sent or is now sending letters to me, please note that I have not received a single letter.

Briefly I must explain to you what is the position in China. I turn back to the years 1911-12, when my political work found its decisive expression in the Revolution that began in October, 1911, and rapidly spread over the land. The Revolution brought the downfall of the Manchurian dynasty and the foundation of the Chinese Republic. I was elected President. After carrying out the responsibilities for a short period, I resigned from my position in favour of Yuan Shih-kai, as my friends, whom I trusted fully, and who had

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

then a more exact knowledge of Chinese internal conditions than I had, persuaded me that Yuan Shih-kai was able to unify the country and to assure the maintenance of the Republic, enjoying the confidence of foreign powers. My friends admit now that my resignation was a major political error, which had exactly the same political consequences as would have taken place in Russia if Kolchak, Yudenich or Wrangel had replaced Lenin in Moscow. Immediately or very soon Yuan began to work for the restoration of the monarchy, with himself as the new Emperor. As is known to you, we defeated him.

After his death, however, the great powers maintained, politically and financially, a number of pseudo-Cromwells and Napoleons. One of them is the former ataman of a band of robbers called Chang Tso-lin. Officially he is the Military Commander or Military Governor of Manchuria, but in fact he is the boss to whom the Peking 'Government' is subordinated. And he in his turn is subordinated to Tokyo in all essential matters having relation to Japan. In view of this it is correct to say that Peking is in fact a tool of Tokyo in all questions of high policy concerning the vital Japanese interests. Moscow should take well into account this circumstance in all its official relations with Peking. Not before a fundamental purge has been carried out in the capital—and this will take place when I get there—can Soviet Russia hope for the renewal of favourable relations.

Since you wrote your letter I was elected President of the National Government which was formed in Canton. This government is the *de jure* government because (a) it derives its powers from the Provisional Constitution adopted by the first Constituent Assembly, which met in Nanking in 1912, and from the only existing Fundamental Law of the Chinese Republic, and (b) it was formed in fulfilment of the decision of a legally empowered authority endowed with full powers in conformity with the constitution in the legal Chinese Parliament, which is now in session in Canton. My government is also the *de facto* government, the authority of which is recognised by a large group of provinces in south-west China and in other provinces to which its jurisdiction extends.

For geographical reasons it is impossible for me at the present time to enter into effective trade relations with you. If you will look at the map of China you will see that the territory under my government's jurisdiction lies to the south of the river Yangtse and that between this territory and the Manchurian and Mongolian 'gates'

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

—through which alone trade relations are feasible—stand athwart the road, Chang Tso-lin and his allies. There are not and cannot be any kind of 'gates' via Chinese Turkestan until at some time a great railway is built, which is included in my project of a system of railway communications in China.

Moscow should wait until I finish with the reactionaries and counter revolutionaries who appear in every country on the morrow of a constructive revolution. Your own experience, during the last three to four years, will make it possible for you to understand what a labour confronts me. For the last nine to ten years I have been busy with it. I hope to finish this work in a short time unless some form of active foreign intervention takes place. This is hardly probable as far as concerns the western Great Powers. They are, apparently, fed up with Peking.

At the same time I would like to enter into personal contact with you and your friends in Moscow. I am exceedingly interested in your affairs, in particular the organisation of your Soviets, your Army and Education. I would like to know all that you and others might inform me about these matters, particularly regarding education. Like Moscow I would like to lay the foundations of the Chinese Republic deep down in the minds of the young generation —the labourers of tomorrow.

With best wishes to you and my friend Lenin and to all who have accomplished so much for the cause of human freedom.

Yours sincerely,

SUN YAT-SEN.

THE LABOUR MONTHLY BOUND VOLUME

provides you with a history of 1950 as a permanent record. ORDER NOW. From your usual newsagents, price £1. Or send 8s. 6d. and your loose copies by December 15 to The Manager, 134 Ballards Lane, London, N.3. Ready end of January.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHICH WAY FOR GERMANY?

GEORGE MATTHEWS

LORD Halifax declared that:

> He (Lord Halifax) and other members of the British Government were well aware that the Fuehrer had attained a great deal, not only inside Germany herself, but that, having destroyed Communism in his country, he had barred the road of the latter to Western Europe, and that Germany, therefore, was entitled to be regarded as a bulwark of the West against Bolshevism.
>
> (Conversation between Hitler and Lord Halifax, November 19, 1937, from the archives of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs.)

> The world is now divided between two great combines of nations. If it should come to war between them, it seems likely that Europe would once more prove the battleground. . . In that war we should have need of every man we could muster. Why should we forgo the valuable assistance of a certain number of German divisions so long as we can be sure that those divisions will only be used for purposes approved by the United Nations? . . . The camps are being pitched, the legions rallied, and the bugle sounds. It is too late to look for the road to safety.
>
> (Sir Duff Cooper in the *Daily Mail*, 24.10.50.)

> The Bavarian Minister-President, Hans Ehard, said this week in a radio broadcast that most German soldiers killed in Russia had died not so much for Hitler as for Christian Europe on a 'preliminary job'.
>
> (The *Observer*, 10.9.50.)

THIRTEEN years, almost to the day, have passed since Halifax's conversation with Hitler. Thirteen years, into which as a result of Halifax's policy were crowded the sufferings of a century. The crucifixion of Austria, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Poland; the bombing of Rotterdam, Coventry, London; the tens of millions of dead of the Second World War; the tortures and gas chambers of Dachau and Auschwitz; the occupation of France; the unforgettable and unforgivable atrocities of the Nazis in the Soviet Union—these were the fruits of regarding German imperialism as 'a bulwark of the West against Bolshevism'. This was the 'preliminary job'. Has the lesson still to be learned? Are we to go one better than the Bourbons, and prove that we have learned nothing and forgotten everything? Must humanity go through the horrors of world war, for the third time in a generation, before an end is finally put to the policy expressed in the Dawes Plan and the Munich Agreement? If the

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

answer is sought for only in the speeches of Western statesmen and the editorials of the American and British press, there would be little hope for mankind. For them the issue is already settled. Germany is to be kept divided; its Western section is to be occupied indefinitely by ever-increasing numbers of foreign and especially American troops; its economy is to be turned into a war economy, its heavy industry into a war industry, under the control of the same Nazi industrialists who did a similar job for Hitler; its people are to be rearmed and used as cannon fodder for an American aggressive war against the Soviet Union and the working class of Europe.

Since the end of the war, Communists have warned that this was the aim of reactionary circles in America and Britain. The people were told, 'Don't listen to the Communists—they are making propaganda. We shall never rearm Germany'. Bevin declared in Parliament on March 28, 1950, 'We have set our face—the United States, France and ourselves—against the rearming of Germany, and that, I am afraid, we must adhere to'. But now, openly, publicly and officially, the Western Powers reveal their true aims. The Conference of Foreign Ministers of the United States, Britain and France, which took place in New York in September, held its discussions in secret. But on September 19 a communiqué was issued which made clear the reactionary nature of its decisions. The Occupation Statute imposed on Western Germany was confirmed; while hypocritically speaking of 'ending the state of war with Germany', the communiqué emphasised that 'this will not affect the rights and status of the Three Powers in Germany'. Far from it, for the Three Powers declared that they will 'increase and reinforce their forces in Germany'. They decided further to lift the ban on war industry in West Germany, announcing this in the phrase, 'a review of the prohibited and limited industries agreement shall be undertaken in the light of the developing relationship with the Federal Republic'. Finally, they decided to carry forward the rearmament of Western Germany, which they had already begun, by permitting 'the establishment of mobile police formations' and by 'German participation in an integrated force'.

The September 19 communiqué was the culmination of years of material and ideological preparation. It was to lead up to this that the Potsdam Agreement was disregarded almost from the first, that 'denazification' was turned into a farce, that dismantling was stopped, war criminals released, the separate currency reform carried through in Western Germany, the Bonn Puppet Government estab-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lished, and Hitler's Generals given the job of restoring the German Army. It was to lead up to this that Churchill made his long series of speeches, from Zurich in 1946 to Strasbourg in 1950, starting with phrases about 'bringing Germany back into the European family' and finishing with talk of a 'European Army' as the cover for German rearmament. It was in preparation for this that Montgomery, Slim, McCloy and Bradley made their repeated speeches during the past year calling for Western Germany to be rearmed.

The reason for American insistence on German rearmament is clear enough. For their strategy of war against the Soviet Union, the Americans need West Germany as a war base and jumping off ground, as a war arsenal, and above all as a source of manpower. For a time at the end of the war, the 'push button' conception of the Third World War enjoyed popularity with American strategists. Men were not so important; air power and the alleged American monopoly of the Atom Bomb would decide. But the Atom Bomb monopoly proved to be a myth. The idea that the world could be conquered by a few men pressing buttons in Washington was replaced by the realisation that wars could not be won without armies. Even the most subservient capitalists of France began to make it clear that they were not enthusiastic about a strategy which 'wrote off' Europe up to the Channel and envisaged a later 'liberation'. The talk turned to manpower, to ground forces, to numbers of divisions. But on whom in Europe could the Americans rely? On the French, the cream of whose army is suffering reverses in Indo-China, one-third of whose electors regularly vote Communist, and hardly any of whom are hankering to get into uniform again? On the Italians, 8,000,000 of whom voted for the Popular Front, and nearly all of whom have had enough of military adventures after their experiences under Mussolini? On the British? But British imperialism could not find enough forces to suppress the colonial liberation movements, and the Americans could not be sure that the people of London, Glasgow and Sheffield had yet forgotten Stalingrad. Hence the dream of a vast army of ex-Nazis in West Germany. Hence the steps already taken, and the further steps proposed, to recreate the aggressive power of German imperialism.

The American insistence on these steps arises from the fact that they are fundamental to American strategy, which without them stands not the slightest chance of success. This is the theme returned to again and again by the Western statesmen and commentators:

> The logic of purely military arguments points unmistakably to this con-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

clusion: that the creation of limited German forces and a contribution to rearmament from the heavy industries of the Ruhr should be allowed—indeed encouraged. In no other way, as the previous chapters have shown, can the military threat to Western Europe be quickly and adequately countered without exhausting demands on the manpower and economic resources of Britain, France and their smaller allies.

(*Defence in the Cold War,* Royal Institute of International Affairs, p. 78.)

But, as with so many plans that look well on paper, there are difficulties. No sooner was the New York statement issued than the storm broke. For if on the one hand German rearmament is essential to America's war plans, on the other hand it is the issue which arouses the deepest and most profound feelings among the people of Europe, including the West German people themselves.

The reaction in France was the greatest and most significant. Schuman had endorsed the New York communiqué. But since September 19 the French Government has felt the pressure of public opinion. Anxious to carry out the wishes of its American masters, yet afraid of the wrath of the French people, caught between the devil and the deep blue sea, it has been forced to come forward with a formula for German rearmament which does not fit in entirely with American plans. Equally important have been the developments in Germany itself. The American dream of a vast German army is based on the assumption that the German people will be prepared to become cannon-fodder for Wall Street, will tolerate indefinitely the division of Germany, and will not resist the combined occupation of their country by the Western Powers. But life itself is showing that this American dream has little relation to reality. Already in October, 1949, Stalin pointed to the historic turning point marked by the formation of the German Democratic Republic:

There can be no doubt that the existence of a peace-loving Democratic Germany, side by side with the existence of a peace-loving Soviet Union, excludes the possibility of new wars in Europe, puts an end to bloodshed in Europe and makes impossible the enslaving of the European countries by the world imperialists. . . If these two peoples display a determination to fight for peace with the same intensity that they waged war, then peace in Europe can be regarded as secured.

In the year that has followed, the German Democratic Republic has achieved successes which have had a profound effect throughout the whole of Germany. Under the leadership of the united party of the German working class, the Socialist Unity Party, the Two Year Plan was completed in one-and-a-half years, and a new Five Year

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Plan adopted. Already the economic position of the German Democratic Republic, with full employment, a rapid tempo of economic reconstruction, reductions in prices and increasing real wages, is in the sharpest contrast to the fruits of the colonial policy of the Western Powers in West Germany, with its mass unemployment, rising prices, immense class contrasts between rich and poor, and disastrous economic situation ('Europe is faced with the bankruptcy of Western Germany'—Dr. Stikker, President of O.E.E.C., 21.10.50.) This contrast will sharpen as the Five Year Plan is operated in the East and the effects of rearmament are felt in the West.

The profound desire of the German people for peace and national independence was expressed in the overwhelming vote for the National Democratic Front in the election of October 15—a vote whose significance all the efforts of the Western Powers could not conceal. And in spite of all the attacks launched by the occupying Powers on the National Front and the forces of Peace in Western Germany, they cannot prevent the growth in the West of a powerful movement for unity and peace, breaking across the artificial boundary division, and leading towards the development of one great national movement throughout the whole of Germany. The deep opposition of the people of West Germany to the New York decisions on rearming Germany was reflected very quickly in the resignation on October 9 of the Minister of the Interior of the Bonn Government, Dr. Heinemann, an outstanding leader of the Evangelical Church, because of his opposition to rearmament. This was followed on October 15 by the protest of Pastor Niemoller at the Evangelical Church Conference against the employment of a former Wehrmacht General in preparing West German armed contingents. At the same time the most reactionary and chauvinist elements in West Germany were encouraged by the decisions of the New York meeting to make openly provocative statements, like that of Kaiser, Minister for All-German questions, on October 22:

> When those driven from their homes in the East asked 'will the day come when all will be changed?' I can only reply, 'The day will come'.

—a statement which drew from *The Times* the comment 'It is obvious that it is statements of this kind which fill Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe with forebodings'.

It was in this situation that the Soviet Government took the initiative in defence of peace by calling together the Foreign Ministers of the countries which suffered most from Nazi aggression, and of the German Democratic Republic itself, on October 20-21 in

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Prague. It is only necessary to summarise the proposals made by this historic meeting to understand the rage with which they were greeted by Acheson and the British Foreign Office, and the effect already in stimulating the forces of peace. They call for:

A Four Power Declaration against the remilitarisation of Germany, and the carrying out of the Potsdam Agreement.

The development of Germany's peace economy, while the restoration of its war potential is prevented.

A Peace Treaty, the restoration of German unity, and the withdrawal of occupation troops within a year after the conclusion of the Peace Treaty.

An all-German constituent council on a parity basis, to prepare the way for a provisional, democratic, peace-loving, all-German Government.

Prague is 3,000 miles from New York. But as compared with the New York Declaration of September 19, the Prague Declaration of October 21 is like a document from another world—a world of sane and peaceful men, not war-mad lunatics. From New York came an imperialist dictate, not discussed with Germans, but to be imposed on them. From Prague came a statement discussed with leaders of the German people who in the elections of October 15 had received an overwhelming vote of confidence from the electors in the German Democratic Republic. From New York came not a word about a German Peace Treaty, but on the contrary, the proposal to continue to occupy Germany with increased forces. From Prague came the call for an immediate Peace Treaty followed by the end of the occupation and the withdrawal of all troops. From New York came proposals based on the continued division of Germany ('The division and occupation of Germany must and will continue'—*Defence in the Cold War*, p. 84). From Prague came the demand for a united Germany.

It is no wonder that the first effect of the Prague statement was such as to make Morgan Phillips feel it desirable to sit on the fence on the question of German rearmament at the COMISCO Conference held that same weekend, only to be slapped down immediately by Mr. Bevin's Foreign Office. The support for the Prague proposals within France was so great that when Moch, the French Defence Minister, went to Washington for the talks on German rearmament which started on October 28, he did not dare to yield immediately to the intensified American pressure, but stuck rigidly to the Pleven Plan. His attitude resulted in the talks breaking up without an agreement having been reached which could be publicly

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

announced, and a statement being issued which *The Times* described as 'an attempt to paper the cracks, but it was a chasm which the Ministers were trying to paper, and it showed only too clearly'. But the 'chasm' was not between the aims of the French capitalists and the American warmongers—it was a chasm between what they both wanted and what the people were prepared to tolerate. If the Prague Declaration stimulated all the forces of peace, it was also followed by German reaction becoming more openly aggressive. Schumacher, the advocate of 'offensive defence', seized on the occasion to demand overwhelmingly bigger Western forces in Germany. Adenauer made a series of speeches demanding 'full equality' for German forces placed at the disposal of the American-European Army, and declared that 'it is incomprehensible that French politicians should still be bothering themselves with events of the past'—echoing the phrases of Hitler, Goebbels and Abetz in 1938 and 1939, which were the prelude to the invasion of 1940. Commented the *New Statesman*—'perhaps the most striking thing about present German comment is its self-confidence'.

On November 3 the Soviet Government further carried forward the Prague initiative by proposing talks between the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France on the fulfilment of the Potsdam Agreement on the demilitarisation of Germany. A great new opportunity opens up for a peaceful settlement of the vital problem of Germany—the question which is at the core of the fight for lasting peace. It is above all on the British people that the responsibility falls to see that advantage is taken of this opportunity. *The Anglo-American plans for the rearmament of Germany can be defeated.*

1950 is not 1937. The policy which Halifax carried out thirteen years ago *can be prevented* today. The Americans and their stooges are not dealing with a Czechoslovakia which will be betrayed by its bourgeoisie. They are not dealing with the Poland of Colonel Beck. They are not dealing with the Italy of Mussolini or the France of Daladier. Nor are they dealing with the Germany of Hitler, but with a German Democratic Republic, advancing with giant strides along the path of democracy and economic construction, and a West Germany whose working class has learned bitter lessons from the defeat and disaster into which Hitler led them and the economic chaos into which the Western Powers and their German stooges have plunged them since the end of the war. Above all, the Soviet Union of 1950 is not the Soviet Union of 1937. It is vastly more powerful, economically and politically, and in the support it com-

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mands throughout the entire world. It is for us to prove in deeds that neither are the Americans, the Churchills and the Attlees dealing today with the Britain of 1937. It is the urgent task of the forces in Britain already fighting for peace to bring home to the British people the menace to their security, their standard of living, and their lives, which the New York plans for rearming German imperialism represent. The fact that it is Bevin and the British Government who are the strongest backers of the American Plan is the measure of our responsibility. If the British people stand alongside the people of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the people of France, Italy and Germany itself, in saying 'No!' to German rearmament, the American plans will never be carried through. This is the challenge and the opportunity. The Prague proposals on Germany are above all in the interests of our country. Our people, and especially the organised Labour movement, can be won for action to support them. If this is done, the ghosts of Hitler, Goebbels, and Chamberlain will be laid for ever, and a giant step forward taken along the road to lasting peace.

Book Reviews

RE-NAZIFICATION

Germany What Now?: By Basil Davidson. (268 pp. Frank Muller. 12*s.* 6*d.*)

WHEN Mr. Harold Davies, M.P., warned Labour Party delegates at Margate of the dangers of arming a Fascist-minded Western Germany he got one of the biggest cheers of the conference. There was similar applause when Mr. Aneurin Bevan declared that the British Government could not accept a Schuman plan putting British coal and steel workers under the control of the industrialists of the Ruhr. The rank and file of the Labour Party knew instinctively that the re-appearance of the Nazi generals and the return to power of the Ruhr steel-kings are betrayals of every principle for which their movement stands. Yet they again gave overwhelming endorsement to Mr. Bevin's foreign policy. No delegate came to the rostrum to ask why German Fascists should become our allies five years after a war to destroy Fascism or why the pledge of their government to prevent Ruhr industries from going back to the class which financed Hitler and backed him to the end, should be so dishonoured. Such is the end of the path along which they have been led by the hysterical anti-Soviet policy and propaganda of their leaders.

The hard, relentless facts given in

LABOUR RESEARCH

November issue includes:

"Bernard Shaw"

"U.S. Communist Control Bill"

"Compensation for Nationalised Industries"

Christmas Book Supplement.

Monthly 6d.; p.a., 7s.

LABOUR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

2 Soho Square, London, W.1.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Basil Davidson's book have a particular value today because the mask has at last been lifted from allied policy in Germany. Lies and propaganda can no longer hide the ugly face of the Fourth Reich which the Western Powers have created. The Nazis are back. Their slogans in 1950 are taken up from where Goebbels laid them down in the ruined Chancellery as the Red Army drove into Berlin. How was such a betrayal possible? Davidson sums it up in this passage:

> The Western allies desired a different kind of Germany from the Germany foreseen at Yalta and Potsdam. They no longer desired a Germany transformed from top to bottom in the essentials of its social structure. The radical changes in the Soviet Zone suggested where such a transformation might well lead.

The Soviet Union and the peoples of Europe fought a war against Fascism. The leaders of America and Britain were manœuvring all the time to prevent the social changes which became inevitable when Fascism was destroyed. At Potsdam, they were forced to bow to the demand of the peoples.

There they promised to eliminate Nazism, to break down the great German cartels, to end the power of the landowners. None of these pledges was fulfilled. The little Nazis were hounded; the big ones remained. An emasculated scheme for land reform was discussed for years and then abandoned. The Parliaments of Hesse (American Zone) and Rhine Westphalia (British Zone) passed laws nationalising the mines. Both measures were vetoed by the occupation powers. Under the patronage of General Clay, the old faces came back. Davidson lists some of them: Dinkelbach, direct associate of Flick, Kugler who ran the mines for Hitler in occupied Poland, Reusch, director of Thyssen's steel trust, and many more. And while all this was going on the

THE MODERN QUARTERLY

Vol. 6 No. 1

Winter, 1950-51

CONTENTS:

CAUDWELL AND MARXISM
Maurice Cornforth

THE MORAL COMPLEXION OF OUR PEOPLE
John Lewis

THE PLACE OF KEYNES IN THE HISTORY OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT
R. L. Meek

AN APPEAL TO INTELLECTUALS
Hyman Levy

EDUCATION AND THE DRIVE TO WAR
Max Morris

96 pp. 2s. 6d.

Distributors:

CENTRAL BOOKS LTD.
2 Parton Street, W.C.1

LAWRENCE & WISHART

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

ESTABLISHED 1936

Volume XIV, No. 4—Fall, 1950

CONTENTS

THE GERMAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT UNDER AMERICAN OCCUPATION, 1945-1949
Paul Phillips

HISTORIANS ON THE RISE OF BRITISH CAPITALISM
Christopher Hill

UNIONISM AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANISATIONS AMONG ENGINEERS
Vera Shlakman

REVIEWS:
E. J. Hobsbawn, George Olshausen, Samuel Bernstein and others.

Quarterly, 50 cents Single Copy
$2.00 per year ($2.50 foreign)

SCIENCE & SOCIETY
30 East 20th St., New York 3, NY

English Representative:
COLLET'S LTD.
40 Gt. Russell St., London W.C.1.

propaganda machine was at work convincing the world that but for the Russians, the Western Powers would have been only too happy to carry out their Potsdam pledges! Davidson disposes of that *canard* too. He shows how the Western Powers deliberately evaded every possibility of compromise and allowed nothing to stand in the way of the creation of a separate Western Germany. This recovery of this Germany was (in General Clay's words) 'the first priority of the Marshall Plan'. And the next step? Inevitably it was the re-creation of the Ruhr war base and the revival of the Wehrmacht. Davidson foresaw this development when he finished his book early this year. Today it has become reality.

GORDON SCHAFFER.

SHORTER NOTICE

Meaning and Purpose. By Kenneth Walker. (206 pp. Penguin Books. 1*s.* 6*d.*)

THIS book is described on the cover as 'an analysis of the main scientific theories of the last hundred years and their impact upon religious thought and belief'. It is most pathetic to see how an eminent surgeon and an author of good popular books on *Human Physiology* and the *Physiology of Sex* writes on things with which he is hardly familiar. His chapter *The Religion of Communism* is shallow to the highest degree; repeating the common reactionary stock phrases of Communism being a religion having 'its sacred doctrines', its 'prophets, saints and martyrs' . . . 'its ceremonial' and such-like trash. Marx, according to the learned doctor, 'can never be regarded as having been a profound thinker', and similar platitudes.

In brief, a superficial book by a superficial man serving reactionary purposes.

C.A.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Index to Volume XXXII

January to December, 1950

I—AUTHORS

		Page
ALDRIDGE, JAMES	A Tribute to Agnes Smedley	301
	Cold Warrior (Poem)	399
ALLEN, C.	A Great Revolutionary Thinker (Review)	187
ARNOT, R. PAGE	The First Thirty Years	371
	Jubilee of the Labour Party	97
BAILEY, GERALD	Atomic Weapons: A Symposium	158
BALMER, THOMAS	Poignard of Truth to Mr. Bevan	17
BERLIOZ, JOANNY	The French People in Action Against War	81
BERNAL, J. D., F.R.S.	The Atom—For War or Peace?	10
	Atomic Weapons: A Symposium	159
BOUGHTON, RUTLAND	Atomic Weapons: A Symposium	164
BRIAN, P. W.	Michurin: A Man with a Mission (Review)	142
BURHOP, E. H. S., DR.	Atomic Weapons: A Symposium	162
	Soddy on Atomic Energy (Review)	188
CENTURION	Military Lessons of Korea	414
CLEGG, ARTHUR	Tibet	86
	Kinds of Freedom (Review)	335
	Two Pirates of Formosa	362
	Aggression in Asia	459
COOKE, LESLIE E., REV.	Atomic Weapons: A Symposium	157
CROWTHER, J. G.	The Second World Peace Congress	507
DAVIDSON, JAMES	William Rust's Last Book (Review)	94
	A Shepherd of the People (Review)	191
DAVIES, S. O., M.P.	Labour and War	400
DAVIS, WALTER	Militarism and Youth	232
DUTT, CLEMENS	Anglo-Soviet Journal (Shorter Notice)	143
	Understanding the World (Review)	288
	Homo Sapiens (Review)	332
	Championship Chess (Shorter Notice)	432
DUTT, R. PALME	Notes of the Month: The Sixth Decade	1
	Notes of the Month: Election Choice	49
	Notes of the Month: After the Election	145
	Notes of the Month: May Day, 1950	193
	Notes of the Month: Treason Against Mankind	241
	Notes of the Month: 'Cold War' Controversy	289
	Notes of the Month: Truth and the War	337
	Notes of the Month: Fifth Column in Britain	385
	Notes of the Month: Choice Before Margate	433
	Notes of the Month: Creators and Destroyers	481
	A 'Learned Bandit' (Review)	41
	Anti-Communist Handbook (Review)	335
	George Bernard Shaw	529
EHRENBURG, ILYA	Seek Peace First	219
ELLIOTT, LON	Books on the U.S.S.R. (Review)	189
	The Other Spain (Review)	237
	Hankey-Pankey (Review)	240
EVANS, A. GLYN	Trade Unionism in Rumania	136

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

		Page
EVANS, STANLEY, REV.	The Pope and English Politics	130
	Quaker Peace Proposals (Review) ..	140, 192
FAGAN, H.	The Election: A Factual Survey	177
GABRIEL	Soviet Cartoons (Review)	95
GALLACHER, WM.	The Election—Then and Now	60
	Yankee Yes-men	541
GILES, G. C. T.	Communists and Education (Review) ..	141
GOLDRING, DOUGLAS	Atomic Weapons: A Symposium	164
	'A Mask Like Castlereagh' (Review) ..	235
GOLLAN, JOHN	Dorking Socialism	305
	The Margate Conference	511
GRIFFITHS, BRYN	Abdication of Trade Union Rights	23
	Thou Shalt Not Muzzle the Ox	106
HEINEMANN, MARGOT	How Near is the Slump?	268
HITCHINGS, GILBERT	Academic Witch-Hunt	425
HORNER, ARTHUR L.	The Struggle for Peace	202
	Hannington's Brilliant Book (Review) ..	331
	Russia's Traducers Answered (Review) ..	526
HUTCHINSON, LESTER	India (Review)	240
HUTT, G. A.	Running Away From Revolution (Review) ..	45
JONES, G. O., DR.	Atomic Weapons: A Symposium	163
KAHN, SAM	Fascist South Africa	378
KLUGMANN, JAMES	The Great Tito Conspiracy (Review)	44
	Uncle Sam's New Recruits	181
	The New German Myth (Review)	236
	Fascist Overture: I and II	259, 326
KNEE, FRED	The Revolt of Labour—40 Years Ago ..	275
KOTOK, V. F., LL.M.	Representative Government in the People's Democracies	124
LEHMANN, BEATRIX	Shaw (Review)	478
LENIN, V. I.	Letters	280
LIE, TRYGVE	End the 'Cold War'!	310
LIM, H. B.	The Malaya War	210
LONGDEN, FRED, M.P.	Atomic Weapons: A Symposium	161
MAHON, J.	Evasive Action (Review)	287
MALCOLM, R.	State, Politics, Parliament (Review)	238
MATTHEWS, GEORGE	Which Way for Germany?	561
MERSON, A. L.	Novel of English Civil War (Review)	46
MONTAGU, IVOR	Masques et Visages de Tito et des Siens (Shorter Notice)	192
	Peace and Mr. Priestley	255
	The Bomb-Mongers	366
	Can We Stop a Third World War?	451
NEEDHAM, DOROTHY, F.R.S., and NEEDHAM, JOSEPH, F.R.S.	Atomic Weapons: A Symposium	162
PARMOOR, LADY	Atomic Weapons: A Symposium	158
PASCAL, ROY	The Writer and his Responsibilities (Review)	474
PICASSO, PABLO	Peace Posters	408, 552
PLATTS-MILLS, J.	Portrait of a Warmonger	249

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

		Page
PLOWRIGHT, B. C., REV.	Atomic Weapons: A Symposium	157
POLLITT, HARRY	Britain's Crisis of Empire (Review)	92
	The Brighton T.U.C.	442
POLLITT, MARJORIE	Women in Socialism (Review)	286
PRITT, D. N., K.C.	A Labour Independent Looks at the Election	174
	Oppression in India	318
	New History of Soviet Union (Review)	428
	The Truth About the U.S.S.R.	493
	Sheffield and Warsaw	554
PURCELL, HENRY	Wage Freeze and Elections	75
QUAESTOR	'Don't Split the Progressive Vote!'	66
	Yankee Aggression in Korea	349
	Whither U.N.O.?	405
	Murdering Peace at U.N.O.	517
RUHEMANN, BARBARA	Nigeria's Bloody Friday	26
F.S.	A Great French Novel	464
SCHAFFER, GORDON	Re-Nazification (Review)	568
SEAR, H. G.	Music, Music, Music (Review)	283
SLOAN, PAT	A Battle for Lives at U.N.O.	32
SMEDLEY, AGNES	Terror Bombing in China	302
STALIN, J. V.	August Bebel	111
STEWART, BOB	Watson of New Zealand (Review)	334
SUN YAT-SEN, DR.	Unpublished Letter	558
SUN YAT-SEN, MADAME	China Chooses	165
SUTTON, PETER	London—May Day, 1950 (Film Review)	336
	Films and the Labour Movement	469
THOMSON, GEORGE	Communication	139
THORNDIKE, DAME SYBIL	Atomic Weapons: A Symposium	161
TOGLIATTI, PALMIRO	Portrait of a Renegade	225
TUCKETT, ANGELA	The Sacred Trust	117
	Crisis and Cure (Review)	144
	Circulation and Fund News	(Each Cover)
TURNER, R. T. F.	Popski the Partisan (Review)	476
	U.S.S.R. (Map)	504
A.E.W.	Corps d'Elite (Review)	286

II—SUBJECTS

ANCIENT HISTORY	Communication from George Thomson	139
ATOMIC ENERGY	The Atom—For War or Peace?	10
	Atomic Weapons—A Symposium (See Authors' Index)	157
	Soddy on Atomic Energy (Review)	188
	Atomic Energy—Use or Misuse (Review)	382
BEBEL, AUGUST	August Bebel, Leader of the German Workers	111
BRITISH POLITICS	The Election—Then and Now	60
	'Don't Split the Progressive Vote!'	66
	Election Weapon (Review)	92
	William Rust's Last Book (Review)	94

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

		Page
	The Pope and English Politics	130
	A Labour Independent Looks at the Elections	174
	The Election: A Factual Survey	177
	Dorking Socialism	305
	The First Thirty Years	371
	Academic Witch-hunt	425
	The Margate Conference	511
	Yankee Yes-men	541
CHINA	(See under Far East)	
FABIANISM	Running Away from Revolution (Review)	45
FAR EAST	Tibet	86
	China Chooses	165
	Terror Bombing in China	302
	Yankee Aggression in Korea	349
	Two Pirates of Formosa	362
	Labour and War	400
	Military Lessons of Korea	414
	Salute to China	455
	Aggression in Asia	459
	Unpublished Letter by Dr. Sun Yat-sen	558
FILMS	Films and the Labour Movement	469
FRANCE	The French People in Action Against War	81
	A Great French Novel	464
GERMANY	Uncle Sam's New Recruits	181
	Which Way for Germany?	561
	Re-Nazification (Review)	568
GREECE	A Battle for Lives at U.N.O.	32
HOUSING	Poignard of Truth to Mr. Bevan	17
HUNGARY	Damning Evidence	315
ILLUSTRATIONS	Cartoons from Abroad	38, 72, 120, 168
	Drawings: Chinese People's Republic	216, 264, 360, 456
	Picasso Peace Posters	408, 552
	Maps	89, 416, 504
INDIA	A Learned 'Bandit' (Review)	41
	India (Review)	240
	Oppression in India	318
ITALY	Portrait of a Renegade	225
KOREA	(See under Far East)	
LABOUR MONTHLY	Editorial Board Statements	59, 65, 455
	Circulation and Fund Notes	(See covers)
LENIN	Letters by Lenin	280
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	Changes in Local Government (Review)	95
MALAYA	The Malaya War	210
MUSIC	Workers' Music Association (Review)	283
NEW ZEALAND	Watson of New Zealand (Review)	334
NIGERIA	Nigeria's Bloody Friday	26
OBITUARY	A Tribute to Agnes Smedley	301
	Lazlo Rudas (1885-1950)	325
PHILOSOPHY	'Letters of an Italian Marxist' (Review)	143

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

		Page
	A Great Revolutionary Thinker (Review) ..	187
	The Writer and His Responsibilities (Review)	474
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES	Representative Government in the People's Democracies	124
RUMANIA	Trade Unionism in Rumania	136
SHAW, G. BERNARD	Shaw (Review)	478
	George Bernard Shaw	529
SOUTH AFRICA	Fascist South Africa	378
TIBET	(See under Far East)	
TRADE UNIONISM AND ECONOMICS	Abdication of Trade Union Rights	23
	Wage Freeze and Elections	75
	Thou Shalt Not Muzzle the Ox	106
	How Near is the Slump?	268
	The Revolt of Labour—40 Years Ago ..	275
	The Brighton T.U.C.	442
TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO	*Extracts from the 'Labour Monthly' January to December, 1925*	47, 80, 116, 180, 231, 258, 300, 384, 424, 450, 525.
UNITED NATIONS	The Sacred Trust	117
	Whither U.N.O.?	405
	Murdering Peace at U.N.O.	517
U.S.S.R.	Soviet Cartoons (Review)	95
	Michurin: A Man with a Mission (Review) ..	142
	Books on the U.S.S.R. (Review)	189
	New History of Soviet Union (Review) ..	428
	The Truth About the U.S.S.R.	493
	Russia's Traducers Answered (Review) ..	526
	A Sane People (Review)	528
WAR AND PEACE	The Struggle for Peace	202
	Seek Peace First	219
	Militarism and Youth	232
	Portrait of a Warmonger	249
	Peace and Mr. Priestley	255
	Fascist Overture I and II 259,	326
	End the 'Cold War'	310
	The Bomb-Mongers	366
	Cold Warrior (A Poem)	399
	Drawings by Picasso 408,	409
	Can We Stop a Third World War?	451
	The Second World Peace Congress	507
	Popski The Partisan (Review)	476
	Sheffield and Warsaw	554
WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS	Appeal to the Workers of the U.S.A., Britain, France and Holland (Document)	37
YUGOSLAVIA	The Great Tito Conspiracy (Review)	44
	Masques et Visages de Tito et des Siens (Review)	192

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books Reviewed

Author	Title (and Reviewer)	Page
Aldridge, J.	**The Diplomat** (Douglas Goldring)	233
A.Sc.W.	**Atomic Attack—Can Britain be Defended?** (Atemnos)	382
Barnett, A.	**The Human Species** (C. P. Dutt)	332
Belinsky, V. G.	**Selected Philosophical Works** (Roy Pascal)	474
Bindoff, S. T.	**Tudor England** (L.S.B.)	192
Botvinnik, M. M. ...	**Championship Chess** (C.P.D.)	432
Brockway, A. F. ...	**Bermondsey Story** (J.M.)	287
Childe, V. G.	**Social Worlds of Knowledge** (C. P. Dutt)	288
Cohen, E. W.	**Methods and Growth** (Anon.)	46
Cole, M. I.	**Growing Up Into Revolution** (G.A.H.)	45
Davidson, B.	**Germany—What Now?** (G. Schaffer)	568
Dange, S. A.	**India from Primitive Communism to Slavery** (R.P.D)	41
Desanti, D.	**Masques et Visages de Tito et des Siens** (I.M.) ...	192
Dobrolyubov, N. A. ...	**Selected Philosophical Essays** (C. Allen)	187
Durant, H. W.	**Political Opinion** (Anon.)	96
Dutt, R. P.	**Britain's Crisis of Empire** (H. Pollitt)	92
	India Today (Lester Hutchinson)	240
Halder, P.	**Hitler as War Lord** (J. Klugmann)	236
Hankey, Lord	**Politics, Trials and Errors** (L.E.)	240
Hannington, W. ...	**Mr. Chairman!** (A. L. Horner)	331
Hilton, R.	**Communism and Liberty** (A. Clegg)	335
Hunt, R. N. C.	**The Theory and Practice of Communism** (R.P.D.) ...	335
Jenks, E.	**The Ship of State** (R. Malcolm)	238
Kalinin, M. I.	**Communist Education** (G. C. T. Giles)	141
Karpinsky, V.	**The Social and State Structure of the U.S.S.R.** (Lon Elliott)	189
Kartun, D	**Tito's Plot Against Europe** (J. Klugmann)	44
King, B.	**Russia Goes to School** (Lon Elliott)	189
Labour Independents ...	**Crisis and Cure** (A.T.)	144
Labriola, Antonio ...	**Lettres à Engels** (D.M.)	143
Locke, E.	**Gordon Watson, His Life and Writings** (Bob Stewart)	334
Lockhart, Sir B. ...	**The Marines Were There** (A.E.W.)	286
Mackenzie, K.	**The English Parliament** (R. Malcolm)	238
Michurin, I. V.	**Selected Works** (P. W. Brian)	142
New Era Films ...	**London—May Day, 1950 (Film)** (P.S.)	336
Parker, R.	**Moscow Correspondent** (Lon Elliott)	190
Peniakoff, V. (Popski)...	**Private Army** (R. T. F. Turner)	476
Pick, F. W.	**Peacemaking in Perspective from Potsdam to Paris** (R.F.)	96
Pollitt, H.	**Serving My Time** (A.P.)	144
Popova, N.	**Women in the Land of Socialism** (M. Pollitt)	286
Rothstein, A.	**A History of the U.S.S.R.** (D. N. Pritt)	428
Rust, W. (completed by G. A. Hutt)	**The Story of the Daily Worker** (J. Davidson) ...	94
Samuels, H.	**Industrial Law** (Anon.)	96
Self, P.	**Regionalism** (N.B.)	95
Slater, M.	**Englishmen with Swords** (A. L. Merson)	46
S.C.R.	**Soviet Humour** (Gabriel)	95
	Anglo-Soviet Journal, Winter 1949 (C.P.D.)	143
Soddy, F.	**The Story of Atomic Energy** (E. H. S. Burhop) ...	188
Somerville, H.	**Industrial Peace in Our Time** (Lon Elliott)	191
Stewart, M.	**The British Approach to Politics** (R. Malcolm) ...	238
Walker, K.	**Meaning and Purpose** (C.A.)	570
West, A.	**A Good Man Fallen Among Fabians** (Beatrix Lehmann)	478
Williams, G.	**Economics of Everyday Life** (J.E.)	432
Workers' Music Assoc....	**Eight Books by Various Authors** (H. G. Scar) ...	283
Miscellaneous	**Atomic Energy** (Penguin), (Atemnos)	382
Society of Friends ...	**Some Quaker Proposals for Peace** (S. E. Evans) 140,	192
January, 1950	**Cultura y Democracia** (L. Elliott)	237

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thing that makes sense as well as goodwill? The Editor's Notes on Shaw in this issue are being separately printed as a memorial; a unique opportunity (1s.). Then you can order a January L.M., to arrive by post on New Year's Day. (1s. 1½d.). Give a *Korea Handbook* (2s. 8½d. post free). Better still, buy a *Labour Monthly* Subscription Gift Token (see back cover). All purchasers of two or more tokens have the right to buy at the special reduced price of 2s. post free the *Korea Handbook*. You will find you will need this *increasingly* in fighting for peace; in explaining the dreadful pattern of imperialist aggression—the pattern of future 'incidents', unless we learn its meaning and do our duty to ourselves, to the cause of peace and of socialism, to the cause of International Labour for which this magazine stands. *Korea Handbook* is a permanent record, without which you have one tool the fewer in your tool kit.

Speaking of records, now is the moment to order your L.M. bound volume for 1950. We must bind them at once in bulk; that is why it is essential to order early. See page 560 for details.

OUR OLDEST READER

Left over from last month I find in my fund folder a reminder to myself about the subscription of our oldest reader, who always renewed for three years at a time. It reads, 'Expires November, 1950'. The name is Bernard Shaw. In November I asked whether anyone was ready with 1s. a month to put St. Pancras, the former home of Marx and of Shaw, in the steady money group. Our old friend and critic can't come to its rescue. Who will be the first to do it for him? The fund in October was much too low, at

£35 14s. 4d.

STAND-IN money came from:
'Islingtonian', standing-in for St. Pancras, 1s.; 'Billie', standing-in for Tonypandy, 'in memory of Lewis Jones', 1s.; D. Mayo, standing-in for Plymouth and Rottingdean, 2s.; J. Tuckett, standing-in for Manchester, 1s.; 'Bath', standing-in for Aylesbury, Cardiff, Totnes, Warwick and Watford, 10s.; 'Socialist Airman', standing-in for Merthyr Tydvil, 1s.; C. M. Hall, standing-in for Ayr, Brechin, Thurso and Wick (pre-paid).
STEADY MONEY came from:
Anon, 'Whitchurch', 1s.; 'Islington', 1s.; J. and K. E., for East Edinburgh, 2s. 6d.; Anon for Central Edinburgh, 5s.; 'Bath', 10s.; C.B., 'Bristol', 1s.; 'Ilfracombe' (pre-paid); 'Aberdeen' (pre-paid); 'Grangemouth' (pre-paid); 'Kingussie' for 'Inverness' (pre-paid); 'Ipswich' (pre-paid); 'New York' (pre-paid); 'Belfast' (pre-paid); 'Socialist Airman', for 'Taunton', 1s.; 'Socialist Sailor', £1; E. D. McCallum, 5s.; H.G.B., 2s.; D. M. Clarke, 10s.; T.W.R., 10s.; L. Rowan, 6s.; A. M. Baxter, 5s.; K. Kennedy, 2s. 6d.; D. Mayo, 10s.; J. Tuckett, 1s. 6d.; Royston Green, 3s. 6d.; H. N. Humphreys, 3s. 6d.; R.F.B., £3; 'L'Humanité', 3s.; H. Willcox, 5s.; G. E. and M. F. A. Philibert, 5s.; Q. Elliott, 6s.; H.S.N., 2s. 6d.; D. H. Strathern and Friends, 5s.; R. McLeod, 5s.; A.F.O., 1s. 6d.; T. Flood, 2s. 6d.; H. Tinkler, 5s.; F. Renouf 5s.; S. Morrissy, 10s.; O. Greene, £2; D.M., 6s.; J. Thompson, 9s.; 'Director', £2; P. N. Brinson, 10s.; J. A. Purton, 7s. 6d.
Other contributions include:
H. Ross, 8s.; J. L. Standen, 4s.; G. Burgess, 5s.; G. Cameron, 8s.; J. McKechnie, 5s.; W. E. Roberton, 2s. 6d.; F. Day, 8s.; C. D. Day, 8s.; J.V.R., 3s.; E. Pushee, 2s. 6d.; H. M. Barnett, 8s.; G. Green, 8s.; T. Russell, 8s.; J. R. Lloyd, 3s.; N. Cockren, 5s.; A. M. B. Smith, 8s.; A. Hacking, 9d.; W. Wallace, £1; A.S. (Canada), 10s.; J. Smith, 4s.; W. Davies, 4s.; J. R. E. Phillips, 8s.; W Storer, 2s. 3d.; J. P. Keeley, 2s. 3d.; J. R. Smith, 8s.; Anon (South Africa), £1 3s.; R. Pulham, 2s.; T.S.B. (U.S.A.), 14s. 6d.; J. Walkenshaw, 8s.; P. G. Kennedy, 2s. 6d.; Ben Davies, 4s.; M. Selkovit, 2s.; M. Mertens-Stienon, 5s.; S. J. Berry, £1 8s.; A. Wynne, 5s.; R. A. Pollock, 8s.; D. Garder, 2s.; G. C. Fitt, 1s.; T. Grounds, £2 8s.; David Percival, 8s.; H. Rose, 8s.; H. Hyams, 10s. 3d.; G. Savage, 1s. 3d.; J. W. Wilson, 4s. 7d.; W. A. Burbridge, 8s.; M. W. Elliott, 8s.; C. Penn, 8s.; M.S. (U.S.A.), 7s.

Our thanks to you all.

ANGELA TUCKETT.

Co-op. Number L.99482.

134 Ballards Lane, London, N.3.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IT'S A GIFT!

YOUR FRIENDS WILL THANK YOU FOR ALL THE YEAR

A *Labour Monthly* Subscription Gift Token

FILL IN the form below to get a Greetings Card token, with the Editor's photograph. Post it to your friend to announce that as from January *Labour Monthly* will arrive, post free, on the first of each month.

THE COST? Half-year token, **6s.** One Year's token, **12s.** Two tokens, **£1 1s.** Three tokens, **£1 10s.** Special offer to purchasers of two or more tokens—a *Korea Handbook* at the **reduced rate of 2s. post free!**

HERE'S WHAT TO DO WITH A £1 NOTE!

A year's token for your friend at home	12s.
Half-year token for your friend overseas	6s.
A special-rate *Korea Handbook* for yourself	2s.
	£1 0 0

GET DOWN TO IT **NOW!**

I enclose.....for.....yearly subscription(s) to be sent to my friend(s)

(1) Name..... (2) Name.....

Address..... Address.....

Please send greetings card token(s) to me,

Signed.....

Address.....

To the Manager, 'Labour Monthly', 134 Ballards Lane, London, N.3

Voice of Democratic India

READ

CROSSROADS

For

First-hand Reports on Indian People's Struggle and South-East Asian Countries' Fight against Imperialism and for National Independence.

Editor:
ROMESH THAPAR

Yearly Subs. Rates:
Rs.12 Inland.
30s. for Continent.
$6.00 for U.S.A.

Wanted, Agents in Foreign Capitals.

Write to: P.O.B. 4062, BOMBAY 7, India.

KOREA
Handbook

The book defenders of peace need to study increasingly, and to give their friends as an eye-opener.

Contributions by **D. N. Pritt** (the famous *Light on Korea* pamphlet); **S. O. Davies, M.P.; R. Palme Dutt; Quæstor; James Aldridge; Pak Hen Yen; Agnes Smedley; Gabriel** cartoons.

96 pp. Stiff covers. Price 2s. 6d. from newsagents. Or post free 2s. 8½d. from

Dept. L., 134 Ballards Lane, London, N.3

Published by the Proprietors, The Trinity Trust, 134 Ballards Lane, London, N.3, and printed by Dorchester and District Newspapers, Ltd. (T.U.), Dorchester, Great Britain.

PRODUCED 2005 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED